THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Volume Four SEPTEMBER, 1912 Number Five

Woman's Suffrage Number

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR TEN CENTS A COPY

"Our Heroes of Destiny"

Honorables Frederick Douglass, John M. Langston, Blanche K. Bruce, Paul Laurence Dunbar and Booker T. Washington

This illustration is protected by copyright. Any infringement will be prosecuted

"OUR HEROES OF DESTINY"

I desire to thank the readers of THE CRISIS and my large number of friends for their very enthusiastic support and appreciation of the **Special Edition** of **"OUR HEROES OF DESTINY."**

POPULAR EDITION

While the orders for the **Special Edition** have been most gratifying, there has been a constant demand for a cheaper one.

In response to these numerous requests I am glad to announce that a **Popular Edition** is on the press. In producing this Edition there is neither a sacrifice of quality nor workmanship, as I was fortunate in securing a specially processed paper, which will defy even the eyes of an expert in distinguishing it from the **Special Edition**. The price of the **Popular Edition** is fifty cents, postpaid.

☞ **The Special Edition, which is on JAPAN VELLUM, will, by no means, be discontinued, and those of the particular sort who desire may have one forwarded to them for One Dollar, postpaid.**

INDIVIDUAL PORTRAITS

The Individual Portraits are beautiful **gravures**, 11 by 14 inches, handsomely mounted and ready for framing. Price, fifty cents.

A partial list of those now ready includes:

Frederick Douglass
Booker T. Washington
Mrs. Booker T. Washington
Blanche K. Bruce
John M. Langston
W. E. B. Du Bois
Paul Laurence Dunbar
Rev. C. T. Walker
Judson W. Lyons
T. Thomas Fortune

TESTIMONIALS

Rev. Dr. R. C. Ransom, New York City, says:

"Your splendid production of 'Our Heroes of Destiny' marks the era of perpetuating characteristic and faithful likenesses of the famous men and women of our own race, to be handed down to younger generations, inspiring them with ideals which if carefully nurtured in their young lives will in their mature ages prove excellent examples of pure and dignified manhood and womanhood.

"No home where there is a child should be without a copy of this excellent work, and no parent that feels the love and loyalty of higher race development should fail to teach the children of their homes the meaning of the lives of these five men."

Mrs. B. K. Bruce, Washington, D. C., says:

"I am indeed glad to say that 'Our Heroes of Destiny' is the most creditable work of art that has yet been produced of and for our people. The life likeness of the entire group is exceedingly good. It is a fitting memorial worthy to be in every home.

"If we are to perpetuate the memories of our own great men, it must be by keeping their portraits ever before our youth, and familiarizing them with the true meaning of their lives."

AGENTS—Here is a proposition that will net you a substantial monthly income, whether you devote all or spare time to it. My extensive advertising; creating a demand for these pictures, insures quick sales, and their superior quality makes each purchaser a satisfied customer. YOU would be interested to know how I train my agents by correspondence and make them successful salesmen. Write for particulars.

C. M. BATTEY, ARTIST AND PUBLISHER
322 Mott Avenue New York City

THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Published by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at 26 Vesey Street, New York City.

W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS, Editor
FRANK M. TURNER, Circulation Manager
ALBON L. HOLSEY, Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL, W. S. BRAITHWAITE, KELLY MILLER

Subscription: $1.00 a year; 50 cents for six months. Foreign subscriptions, 25 cents extra. Subscriptions to begin with current issue or changes of address must reach us before the 15th of the previous month.

CONTENTS FOR SEPTEMBER

	PAGE
ALONG THE COLOR LINE	215
MEN OF THE MONTH	223
OPINION	225
EDITORIAL	234
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE	237
HISTORIC DAYS IN SEPTEMBER. By L. M. Hershaw	239
A SUFFRAGE SYMPOSIUM. By Fanny Garrison Villard, Adella Hunt Logan, Mary Church Terrell, Martha Gruening and Rosalie Jonas	240
THE BURDEN	248
WHAT TO READ	249
LETTER BOX	250

Agents wanted who can furnish references. Entered as second-class matter in the P. O. at N. Y. City

Atlanta University

Is beautifully located in the City of Atlanta, Ga. The courses of study include High School, Normal School and College, with manual training and domestic science. Among the teachers are graduates of Yale, Harvard, Dartmouth, Smith and Wellesley. Forty-one years of successful work have been completed. Students come from all parts of the South. Graduates are almost universally successful.

For further information address

President EDWARD T. WARE

ATLANTA, GA.

Knoxville College

Beautiful Situation, Healthful Location
The Best Moral and Spiritual Environment
A Splendid Intellectual Atmosphere
Noted for Honest and Thorough Work

Offers full courses in the following departments: College, Normal, High School, Grammar School and Industrial.

Good water, steam heat, electric lights, good drainage. Expenses very reasonable.

Opportunity for Self-help.

Fall Term Begins September, 1912.

For information address

President R. W. McGRANAHAN

KNOXVILLE, TENN.

Virginia Union University

RICHMOND, VA.

A College Department, of high standards and modern curriculum.

A Theological Department, with all subjects generally required in the best theological seminaries.

An Academy, with manual training, giving a preparation for life or for college.

The positive moral and religious aim of the school, its high standards of entrance and of class work, its fine new buildings and well-equipped laboratories and library prepare a faithful student for a life of wide usefulness.

GEORGE RICE HOVEY, President

Fisk University

NASHVILLE, TENN.

The largest colored college in the South. A new department of sociology and social service. A notable equipment in land and buildings. Endorsed by the General Education Board. For information address

GEORGE A. GATES, President

FORWARD

MARCH YOUR SON OFF TO

Wilberforce University

The only school in the country for Negro Youth which has a Military Department equipped by the National Government, and commanded by a detailed United States Army Officer.

DEPARTMENTS

MILITARY	SCIENTIFIC
NORMAL	TECHNICAL
COMMERCIAL	THEOLOGICAL
CLASSICAL	MUSICAL
PREPARATORY	

Banking taught by the actual operations in the Students' Savings Bank. Twelve Industries, 180 acres of beautiful campus, Ten Buildings. Healthful surroundings, exceptional community. Maintained in part by the State of Ohio which supplies facilities for the thorough training of teachers.

Fall term begins September, 1912. Write for Catalog.

W. S. SCARBOROUGH, President
WM. A. JOINER, Superintendent, C. N. I. Department.

Address all communications to
BOX 36 WILBERFORCE, OHIO

Avery College Training Schools

NORTH SIDE, PITTSBURGH, PA.

A superior training school for young colored women, thoroughly instructing its students as a means of self-support in dressmaking, cutting and drafting, domestic science, music, nurse training, millinery, and an intermediate English course. This institution is under the influence of no religious denomination, is the oldest endowed chartered Negro institution in America. The accommodations in its dormitory, which is in charge of a competent matron, are excelled by no colored institution in this country.

The hospital department offers the same course as the large hospitals of the State of Pennsylvania, fully equipped with its operating rooms, diet kitchen and ambulance service. The course requires three years' lectures on general nursing, anatomy, ethics, surgery, obstetrics, asepsis, antiseptics, gynecology, pediatrics, eye, nose, throat, materia medica, therapeutics and dietetics under a staff of white and colored physicians. Catalogues now ready.

Address all communications to

JOSEPH D. MAHONEY, Secretary

Box 154 North Side, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Daytona Educational and Industrial School for Negro Girls

Daytona, Florida

It reaches, by reason of its location, a large territory of Negro children deprived of educational privileges.

Its comfortable home life and Christian influences insure a certain individual attention and superior training impossible in larger institutions of its kind.

Mrs. Frances R. Keyser, formerly in charge of the White Rose Home for Working Girls, in New York City, has been elected Principal of the Academic Department. Write for catalog and detailed information.

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
Founder and Principal

Learn Algebra or Shorthand Writing

During your spare time. Complete course; either one by mail, $14.00; book furnished. $2.00 down and then $1.00 a month until paid. We can accommodate 200 by mail.

PERKINS SEMINARY

320 S. 10th Street Birmingham, Ala.

SEE
MME. BECKS' PATTERNS
ON PAGE 253

Agricultural and Mechanical College

Open all the year round. For males only. Strong, practical and theoretical courses leading to degree of Bachelor of Science in Agriculture, and Bachelor of Science in Mechanics. Board, lodging and tuition, $7.00 per month. Write to-day for catalog or for further information.

JAS. B. DUDLEY, President
GREENSBORO, N. C.

Mention THE CRISIS.

OF INTEREST TO VOCAL STUDENTS

Tone Placing and Voice Development

Practical method of singing for daily practice, based upon artistic principles, together with a carefully prepared number of exercises, forming a comprehensive, progressive and self-explained course in voice building, which constitute the technical side of the vocal art.

Comment from the world-renowned conductor of the Paulist Choir of Chicago, Ill., whose choir has just received the first prize awarded at the Singing Contest held in Paris on May 25, 1912:

"Dear Mr. Tinsley:

"I take great pleasure in commending your very useful and succinctly written book on 'Tone-Placing and Voice-Development.' Your own appreciation of the psychology of singing and the fundamental principles of the art you have cleverly reduced to a simple system.

"Cordially yours,

"Father WILLIAM J. FINN, C. S. P.,
"Director Paulist Choristers of Chicago."

Price $1. Address the publisher:

PEDRO T. TINSLEY

6448 Drexel Avenue CHICAGO, ILL.

or Clayton F. Summy, 64-66 E. Van Buren St. (Steinway Hall Bldg.), and Lyon & Healy, Adams and Wabash Sts., Chicago, Ill.

"A noteworthy book of the epoch."

The Souls of Black Folk

By W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS

Eighth Edition

"It is one of the noteworthy books, not merely of a year, but of the epoch. Its every page is filled with vigor, spontaneity and spirituality." — *Boston Transcript.*

"A stripping bare of the moral and mental anatomy of the African in America so as to reveal the naked soul in its primitive simplicity, seared and scarred by ages of suffering."—*New York Age.*

With Author's Portrait, $1.20 Net

At book stores or from the publishers

A. C. McCLURG & CO.

CHICAGO

The NEGRO AND THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE

No. 11. Occasional Papers

AMERICAN NEGRO ACADEMY

An Opinion Worth While.

"I find more patriotism and statesmanship in this pamphlet by colored men than in all the contributions made on the subject by white men since the Civil War."

A. E. PILLSBURY.

Inclose 35 cents to

J. W. CROMWELL

1439 Swann Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.

PUBLICATIONS

A. M. E. Book Concern Philadelphia, Pa.

THE POEMS OF PHILLIS WHEATLEY. Reprint of first edition 1773; a valuable book. Price, $1.00.

THE NEGRO PROBLEM. An analysis: What It Is Not and What It Is; by R. R. Wright, Jr. In pamphlet form, 15 cents.

THE COLORED REGULARS. By T. G. Steward, Chaplain U. S. A., retired. Price, $1.50.

EVOLUTION AND LIFE. By Algernon B. Jackson, Surgeon-in-chief Mercy Hospital. Price, 75 cents.

THE NEGRO IN PENNSYLVANIA. A Study in Economic History. By R. R. Wright, Jr., Sometime Research Fellow in Sociology in the University of Pennsylvania. Price, Paper, $2.00; Cloth, $2.50.

Address

A. M. E. BOOK CONCERN

631 Pine Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Atlanta University Studies of the Negro Problems

15 Monographs. Sold Separately.

Address:

A. G. DILL

Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

The Curse of Race Prejudice

By James F. Morton, Jr., A. M.

An aggressive exposure by an Anglo-Saxon champion of equal rights. Startling facts and crushing arguments. Fascinating reading. A necessity for clear understanding and up-to-date propaganda. Belongs in the library of every friend of social justice. Price 25 cents. Send orders to

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

244 West 143d Street New York, N. Y.

The Power of Womanhood

A Speech by Joseph Wellington

PRICE 20 CENTS

Sold by

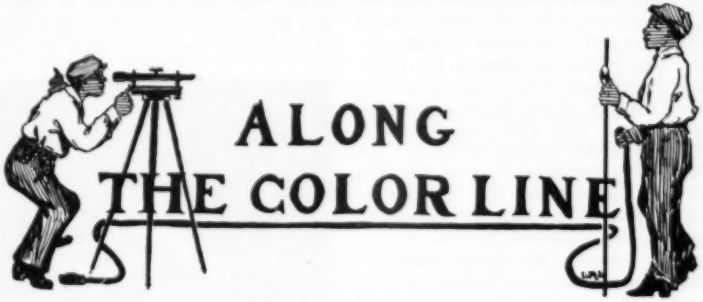
THE STANDARD NEWS COMPANY

131 West 53d Street, New York

AGENTS WANTED EVERYWHERE

THE CRISIS

Volume Four SEPTEMBER, 1912 Number Five



WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

AMONG the most active workers for suffrage in New York City is Dr. Verina Morton-Jones. Dr. Jones is president of the Brooklyn Equal Suffrage League of the Kings County Suffrage Association, the organization for which Mrs. Garnett worked so faithfully until her death. The league was the banner club in the State fair of 1911.

¶ In Boston Mrs. Josephine Ruffin has given many years to active service in the suffrage movement. Miss A. L. T. Waytes of that city tours the country in the interests of votes for women. This campaign she has been speaking in Wisconsin and Ohio.

¶ Much work is being done for suffrage by the colored women of Ohio. Mrs. Hallie Q. Brown of Wilberforce has given many years of devoted service to "votes for women," and Mrs. Blanche A. Gilmere of Cleveland is an ardent advocate and is working diligently in the present State campaign.

¶ The State secretary in Wisconsin writes that "Miss Carrie Horton is president of the Colored Suffrage League of Milwaukee, and when she returns from her vacation we believe she will take up the suffrage work with enthusiasm. We hope to poll the entire colored vote of Milwaukee."

¶ The Equal Suffrage League of Indiana has seven branches in Indianapolis, one being the colored branch. This was organized in July, 1912, and has as its president Miss Carrie Barnes, a young woman reared in that most progressive State, Colorado. It has forty members—thirty women and ten men. All are active workers. Once a month it meets with other branches to go over matters of general importance. "Our meetings," the president writes, "are well attended, and both the men and the women are enthusiastic. We all feel that colored women have need for the ballot that white women have, and a great many needs that they have not."

¶ On the resolutions committee at the National Association of Colored Women at Hampton was an Alabama woman who is a life member of the National Woman's Suffrage Association. She is active in the present campaign for the enfranchisement of women in Ohio, and has exercised the taxpayers' suffrage in Louisiana.

POLITICAL.

MR. ANDREW B. HUMPHREY estimates the effective Negro vote in the next presidential election to be 600,000, divided as follows:

Massachusetts	20,000	Ohio	45,000
Rhode Island	3,500	Indiana	25,000
Connecticut	6,000	Illinois	50,000
New York	50,000	Michigan	7,000
New Jersey	30,000	Iowa	7,000
Pennsylvania	70,000	Kansas	20,000
Maryland	65,000	Nebraska	4,000
Delaware	10,000	Oklahoma	40,000
W. Virginia	24,000	Colorado	5,000
Kentucky	75,000	California	10,000
Missouri	30,000	Washington	3,500

¶ At the convention of the Progressive party Negroes from the South were denied seats. In Mississippi the delegates had been elected in a convention which was confined to white men. In most of the other Southern States Negroes were excluded. In the case of Florida both the white and colored delegations were excluded. South Carolina was not represented because only colored men offered to organize the party. A plank was laid before the convention affirming the right of the Negro to take part in government. This, after long debate, the platform committee refused to adopt. A few colored delegates sat for the Northern States and made a hard fight for justice. Three directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Mr. J. E. Spingarn, Mr. Henry Moskowitz and Miss Jane Addams, worked strenuously, but without avail, to change the attitude of the convention.

¶ In the September election Ohio will vote on two proposals touching the colored people. Proposal number 23 is to enfranchise women and to strike from the constitution the prohibition against voting by other persons than white men. Proposal number 24 does not enfranchise women, but does drop the word "white."

¶ The question of Negroes voting in Southern "white" primaries continually comes to the fore. In Virginia the new Byrd law apparently does not exclude the colored people from primary elections. In Texas the State attorney-general has handed down an opinion that Negroes may be prohibited from voting in such elections.

¶ A determined effort was made by colored officeholders to have Dr. U. G. Mason of Birmingham appointed as internal revenue collector in Alabama in the place of Col. Thompson, a white man, who has just been displaced. The attempt was, however, unsuccessful. Sim. T. Wright, a white man, was appointed by President Taft.

¶ Mr. T. B. McAllister has been reappointed receiver of public moneys at Jackson, Miss. He has held this post for eight years and is the only important Negro federal officeholder in the State. Mr. Charles Banks, with the endorsement of Mr. Booker T. Washington, was a prominent candidate for the position. As Mr. Taft did not appoint Mr. Banks, this is said to have had much to do with Mr. Banks' advocacy of Roosevelt in the Republican convention.

¶ Several delegations of colored men have waited on Governor Wilson, the Democratic nominee for President. The first delegation reports the result of their interview as follows: "Mr. Wilson assured us, first of all, that if elected he intended to be a President of the whole nation—to know no white or

DR. V. MORTON-JONES (See page 215)

black, no North, South, East or West, and no home-born or foreign-born, but that he would treat every citizen according to the law—not only the letter, but according to the spirit of the law—and that he would discharge his obligations, his duties of office, in the spirit of Christ, and with justice and fairness to all. In the second place, even if the President and both houses of Congress should be Democratic, he did not believe that any measures inimical to colored people would be passed. He said that it was the understanding with the party leaders that this should be the case, but if by any accident such a measure or measures should be passed he would veto them. In the third place, he gave us to understand that so far as patronage was concerned he could assure us that the colored people would fare as

well under his administration as President as they had fared under Republican administrations. In the fourth place, he promised as soon after his formal notification as possible he would get out a statement over his own name to the entire country refuting the falsehoods which are being so indiscriminately circulated against him by most of the colored newspapers and by many of the white papers and magazines of the country relative to his enmity to and hatred of the colored man. We called the governor's attention to the fact that it had already been repeatedly stated that if he became President he would use his power to spread 'Jim Crow' and disfranchisement acts against the colored man and to abolish the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. He said that these were false statements; that he had no intention of doing any such thing and would frown upon the efforts of any who undertook to promote such acts. In short, he expressed himself as feeling the need of and desiring the colored vote and stated that he was willing to do anything that was right and legal to secure that vote, and that if elected President of the United States the colored people would have no occasion to regret having voted for him."

¶ A second delegation of colored men which has waited on Mr. Wilson enlisted his sympathy and aid for the passage of the emancipation celebration bill now before the House of Representatives.

¶ In South Carolina an astonishing political fight is going on between the white aristocrats, led by Jones, and the poor whites, led by Governor Blease. Both agree in maligning the Negro.

SOCIAL UPLIFT.

THE colored people of Pennsylvania and New Jersey are busy arranging for the exposition which they are to hold next year aided by State appropriations. Other celebrations are being planned in Spokane, Wash., the District of Columbia and elsewhere.

¶ It is reported that there are 4,113 colored men in the navy receiving a total yearly salary of $2,168,000.

¶ The new colored Y. M. C. A. in Washington, D. C., is now in full working order. The secretary is Louis E. Johnson.

¶ Helen Collins left in her will recently $10,000 to the Tuskegee Institute, a part of her residual estate to the Snow Hill Institute, $5,000 to the New York Colored Mission and $1,000 to the Lincoln Hospital.

¶ A civil-service examination for the $1,200 position of organizer of the Emancipation Proclamation Commission of New Jersey has been held. Fourteen persons passed the test, and among these A. L. Locke, formerly a Rhodes scholar, Solomon P. Hood and E. R. Hayne stood highest.

¶ The colored Pekin Theatre of Chicago has, on account of the death of its proprietor, passed into the hands of white people.

¶ Mingo Saunders, one of the dismissed men of the Brownsville battalion, has been given a civil-service position, and it is said that legislation will be attempted to restore him and his fellows to the army.

¶ The cornerstone of the new colored Y. M. C. A. in Chicago has been laid. The cost will be $180,000.

¶ A large colonization scheme involving 4,700 acres has been started by the Liberian Land Company in the State of Washington.

ECONOMICS.

THE Metropolitan Realty Investment Company of Ocala, Fla., have just bought $18,000 worth of property in that city.

¶ In Georgia a bill is before the legislature providing certain qualifications for locomotive firemen which is framed to discriminate against Negro firemen.

¶ It is said that the Pullman porters are not provided for in the employers' liability and workmen's compensation act now before Congress.

¶ Large farmers' conferences have been held at Lawrenceville, Va., at Harrisburg, Pa., and at Prairie View, Tex.

¶ L. B. Jeffries, a colored man, has been awarded the contract for erecting a four-room primary school at Greensboro, N. C. Many of the contractors refused to submit plans because Negroes were allowed to compete.

¶ There are twelve cities in the United States with more than 40,000 colored people, according to the census of 1910; the figures

follow, together with the percentage of colored to total population:

Washington, D. C.	94,446,	or 28.5%
New York, N. Y.	91,709,	or 1.9%
New Orleans, La.	89,262,	or 26.3%
Baltimore, Md.	84,749,	or 15.2%
Philadelphia, Pa.	84,459,	or 5.5%
Memphis, Tenn.	52,441,	or 40.0%
Birmingham, Ala.	52,305,	or 39.4%
Atlanta, Ga.	51,902,	or 33.5%
Richmond, Va.	46,733,	or 36.6%
Chicago, Ill.	44,103,	or 2.0%
St. Louis, Mo.	43,960,	or 6.4%
Louisville, Ky.	40,522,	or 18.1%

¶ The 91,709 Negroes in New York City are divided as follows:

Manhattan Borough	60,534
Bronx Borough	4,117
Brooklyn Borough	22,708
Queens Borough	3,198
Richmond Borough	1,152

¶ There are twenty-seven cities in the United States which had, in 1910, between 10,000 and 40,000 colored inhabitants:

Nashville, Tenn.	36,523
Savannah, Ga.	33,246
Charleston, S. C.	31,056
Jacksonville, Fla.	29,293
Pittsburgh, Pa.	25,623
Norfolk, Va.	25,039
Houston, Tex.	23,925
Kansas City, Mo.	23,566
Mobile, Ala.	22,763
Indianapolis, Ind.	21,816
Cincinnati, O.	19,623
Montgomery, Ala.	19,322
Augusta, Ga.	18,344
Macon, Ga.	18,150
Dallas, Tex.	18,024
Chattanooga, Tenn.	17,924
Little Rock, Ark.	14,539
Shreveport, La.	13,896
Boston, Mass.	13,564
Fort Worth, Tex.	13,280
Columbus, O.	12,739
Wilmington, N. C.	12,107
Charlotte, N. C.	11,752
Portsmouth, Va.	11,617
Columbia, S. C.	11,546
Lexington, Ky.	11,011
San Antonio, Tex.	10,716

¶ Negroes constitute more than half the population of Charleston, Savannah, Jacksonville and Montgomery; and one-fourth or more of the population of twenty-seven principal cities.

EDUCATION.

THE illiteracy statistics as issued by the tenth census give the following figures for the whole of the United States and for the South:

Negro population 10 years of age and over, 1910.

Division and State	Number	Number of Illiterate.	Per Cent.
Continental United States	7,318,502	2,228,087	30.4
Southern Divisions:			
South Atlantic	2,986,936	969,432	32.5
East So. Central	1,960,898	681,507	34.8
West So. Central	1,460,705	483,022	33.1

¶ The figures for specific Southern States are as follows:

	Number of Illiterate.	Per Cent.
Delaware	6,345	25.6
Maryland	42,289	23.4
District of Columbia	10,814	13.5
Virginia	148,950	30.0
West Virginia	10,347	20.3
North Carolina	156,303	31.9
South Carolina	226,242	38.7
Georgia	308,639	36.5
Florida	59,503	25.5
Kentucky	57,900	27.6
Tennessee	98,541	27.3
Alabama	265,628	40.1
Mississippi	259,438	35.6
Arkansas	86,398	26.4
Louisiana	254,148	48.4
Oklahoma	17,858	17.7
Texas	124,618	24.6

¶ Andrew Carnegie has sent $8,000 in part payment of his pledge of funds to build a new girls' dormitory at Wilberforce University.

¶ Lieut. John E. Green, of the United States Twenty-fifth Infantry, will be at the head of the military department at Wilberforce University for another year.

¶ George F. P. Cook, for thirty-six years superintendent of the colored schools of the District of Columbia, is dead.

¶ There are in the United States 5,516,693 illiterate persons ten years of age and over, of which less than one-half are colored.

¶ Georgia has established agricultural schools for white youths in every county in the State. A bill has now been introduced to establish one such State school for colored people.

¶ The Mississippi Association of Teachers in Colored Schools, which held its sixth annual session lately, reported the case of a city in Mississippi where the principal of the white school receives $20 per month more for his services than all the teachers in the colored school combined, and where the Negro children are compelled to use for their educational home the condemned schoolhouse given up by the whites! In this county a

former superintendent advertised as very good reasons for his re-election the fact that he had decreased Negro salaries to a minimum, had increased white salaries to a maximum, and that during his term of office not a single Negro school had been erected.

¶ The colored people of Louisiana are trying to prevent the removal of the Southern University from New Orleans out into the country. This university is at present the only place where New Orleans children can get State instruction above the sixth grade.

¶ In Kentucky hereafter the colored teachers will be elected by the division boards of education instead of by the county boards, and a colored school visitor will be elected in each of the districts of the State.

¶ The annual Hampton conference discussed colored schools in Virginia and Negroes in city life. Some attention was given to efforts to introduce proper dancing among the youth.

¶ Gammon Theological Seminary and Clark University at South Atlanta, Ga., have had a single president, but next year will revert to the older plan of two presidents. Dr. S. E. Idleman, a white man, was the former president, and there has been much dissatisfaction with his work.

¶ In the final settlement of the Peabody School Fund, $1,500,000 goes to the white normal school at Nashville, about $300,000 to other white schools, and $350,000 to the John F. Slater Fund, which is for colored people.

¶ The National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools met in Chattanooga under the presidency of W. T. B. Williams. The organization was welcomed to the city by the mayor, and heard during its session papers by H. L. Keith, of Nashville; J. H. A. Brazzleton, of Oklahoma; Dr. L. B. Moore and Dr. G. E. Haynes. M. W. Dogan of Wiley University was elected president for the ensuing year.

¶ In Boston .2 per cent. of the teachers and 1.6 per cent. of the pupils in the public schools are of Negro descent.

¶ Julius Rosenwald has promised to give $1,250 annually to Meharry College, provided $5,000 is raised elsewhere. He has also given $25,000 to Mr. B. T. Washington for colored schools.

MEETINGS.

THE National Independent Political League has divided into two leagues, one supporting Roosevelt and the other supporting Wilson.

¶ The National Association of Colored Women's Clubs held its eighth biennial session at Hampton Institute. It reported a club membership of 10,908, and a total of $82,424 collected in two years by the constituent clubs.

Resolutions protesting against "Jim Crow" cars, race segregation, lynching and declaring in favor of full woman suffrage were adopted. The next convention will meet at Wilberforce University in 1914.

¶ The National Medical Association of colored professional men met at Tuskegee on August 27-28-29.

¶ This month the national Baptist convention will meet at Houston, Tex.; 10,000 colored people are expected.

¶ The National Negro Business League has held its thirteenth annual session in Chicago.

¶ The colored citizens of Columbus will occupy a day at the Ohio-Columbus centennial celebration. Among the speakers will be Assistant Attorney-General W. H. Lewis, John Mitchell of Richmond and E. H. Morris of Chicago.

MUSIC AND ART.

THE colored people of Atlanta and vicinity are giving their third annual music festival and with it a pageant.

¶ The London (Eng.) *Musical Times* says: "Musicians are much indebted to Sir Herbert Tree for quite a considerable quantity of significant and charming music resulting from the actor-manager's commissions to composers to write for his sumptuous productions of Shakespearian and romantic plays at His Majesty's Theatre. Prominent among these composers is Mr. S. Coleridge-Taylor, who provided the incidental music for 'Herod' (1900); 'Ulysses' (1901); 'Nero' (1902) and 'Faust' (1908). To this list is now added his score for the production of Shakespeare's 'Othello.' A distinguishing feature of Mr. Coleridge-Taylor's music to all the above-mentioned plays is the melodious character of the principal themes, and this is particularly marked in his latest contribution to the stage.

¶ Mr. Pedro T. Tinsley has published a practical method of singing which has received considerable praise.

¶ Miss Laura Wheeler of Hartford, Conn., was among the prize winners at the American Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia.

¶ Statues of Alexander Dumas' father, himself and his son, will soon adorn the Place Malesherbes, Paris. The name of the square will probably be changed to "Place des Trois Dumas."

¶ Mr. Roy Wilfred Tibbs of Lexington, Ky., was among those graduating in the class of 1912 from the Oberlin (O.) Conservatory of Music. During the school session Mr. Tibbs was heard in an admirably planned musical program.

¶ At New Orleans, La., an initial concert by the St. Katharine orchestra, Mr. Louis Tio, conductor, was given in June, under the management of Mr. S. C. Baumann. The orchestra, which is composed of thirty-five capable musicians, was warmly greeted by a large audience.

¶ The annual music festival at Peterboro, N. H., in honor of the composer, Edward MacDowell, was held late in August. The festival opened on the pageant stage with Coleridge-Taylor's "Hiawatha," by the MacDowell Choral Club and an orchestra, and was followed by a fête representative of the court of Provence.

¶ The Thompson Music Company, well-known publishers of Boston, Mass., have published a berceuse for violin with piano accompaniment, written by Mr. Clarence C. White of Boston. A violin recital was given by Mr. White on July 13 at Lenox, Mass. He was heard also at Portsmouth, N. H., and Portland, Me., during the month of August.

¶ Miss Myrtle Mae Williams of St. Paul, Minn., has charge this year of the pianoforte classes of the West End Branch of the Y. W. C. A. in St. Paul. Miss Williams is a former graduate of the New England Conservatory of Music of Boston, Mass.

¶ A "folk festival" of the Indian, Zulu and Negro students from the Hampton Institute of Virginia was lately held in Beverly, Mass. Mrs. William Howard Taft and other prominent society women acted as patronesses of the interesting event. The program included soli, choruses, war and love dances, tableaux by the students and speeches by Major Henry L. Higginson, Dr. H. B. Frissell, principal of the institute, and students.

¶ A newly published composition for orchestra by Henry F. Gilbert, the American composer who has so often presented the Negro folk music in artistic form, was played in New York on the evening of July 16.

The work "Americanesque" is a symphonic and humorous treatment of three old Negro tunes.

Musical America says: "The composer has managed the familiar melody with genuine poetical effect. The work should produce an invigorating and jollifying effect, interesting to the trained musical mind, while pleasing the casual listener."

PERSONAL.

BERT FLINT, a colored private in the United States Twenty-fifth Infantry, saved four young children from death near Plumbwater, Wash.

¶ Catherine Lealtad ranked first among seventy-nine graduates of the Mechanical Arts High School of St. Paul, Minn. She is seventeen years old and will attend the University of Minnesota.

¶ S. F. Boston, the colored editor of the West Virginia *Register*, saved a white man from death recently at a railway crossing in Huntington, W. Va.

¶ Miss Viola Smith has won a medal for declamation over seven white contestants at the Lake County convention of the W. C. T. U., Mentor, O.

¶ Mrs. Ida Sharp Bourne, a colored missionary to Africa, is dead. She was teacher and instructor of music at the College of Music in West Africa, Liberia, and on her return home in 1905 made a lecture tour through the United States. She had traveled extensively and met many distinguished personages.

¶ Mr. George E. Wibecan is dead at the age of eighty-one years. He was a prominent figure among colored New Yorkers for many years.

¶ Dr. R. F. Boyd, a well-known colored physician in Nashville, Tenn., is dead at the age of sixty. He was a man who stood high in his profession and owned considerable property.

¶ L. W. Livingstone, United States Consul at Cape Haytien, Hayti, is spending his vacation in Europe.

¶ Jackson, a colored student at Oxford University, won the 1,500-metre race at the Olympic games. The credit of this victory goes to England and the Negro race has scarcely been mentioned.

¶ Parker N. Bailey, a colored Harvard graduate and teacher in the M Street High School, Washington, D. C., is dead.

CRIME.

ONE or two Negroes were lynched at Hall's Station, Ala. They had killed a white man named Tutt.

¶ Leonard Potts, who had killed Sheriff Stevens near Clarkesville, Tex., was shot to death.

¶ John Williams was lynched in Plummerville, Ark., for shooting an officer.

¶ T. Z. Cotton, a sixteen-year-old colored boy of Columbus, Ga., killed a white boy. He was tried and sentenced to three years' imprisonment for manslaughter. He was then taken from the guards by a mob and shot to death.

¶ A race war arising over the "chastisement" of a Negro has been going on at Plainville, near Rome, Ga. Seven Negroes have been killed and eleven Negroes and four whites severely wounded. The Negroes were killed without mercy, two of them having been placed on a railroad track and a train allowed to pass over their bodies.

¶ At Corpus Christi, Tex., in a race riot, a colored woman and a white man have been killed, and one colored man injured.

¶ In Maryland, after six months' secret search, directed by the governor, four men have been arrested for the lynching of King Johnson on the night before last Christmas. The Burns Detective Agency is responsible for the arrests. It is said that Governor Goldsborough personally paid for the cost of the investigation.

¶ Colored men have been killed by policemen in Paducah, Ky., Dallas, Tex., Louisville, Ky., Fayetteville, N. C., and Fort Worth, Tex.

¶ At Fordyce, Ark., a company of State militia invaded a Negro neighborhood and injured fourteen colored people, two of whom will die. The governor has publicly reprimanded the soldiers and dishonorably discharged the captain.

¶ Six white men are under arrest in Washington charged with murdering a Negro for $2.

¶ Two fourteen-year-old white boys shot and killed a twelve-year-old colored boy near Dayton, O.

¶ A white man at Mobile, Ala., has been arrested for interfering with a colored mail clerk.

¶ Two white men have finally been hanged in Tennessee for the murder and burning of Ben. Pettigrew, a colored land owner, and his two children.

¶ Frank Richardson, whose case has been spoken of before in THE CRISIS, has been hanged in Alabama. He killed a white man in self-defense and several others in trying to escape the mob.

COURTS.

IN Florida a colored man at Plant City was awaiting an early train when he was accosted by a policeman. He threatened the policeman with a revolver and escaped. He was followed by officers and bloodhounds and finally shot the dogs and both of the officers. One of them died. The colored man was tried and received the light sentence of only one year.

¶ In Los Angeles, Cal., G O. Cochran, a colored man, brought a case against the proprietor of a theatre for refusing him admittance to the first floor on the ground of color. After a stubbornly contested trial Mr. Paul N. Nash, the attorney for the complainant, secured a decision for his client of $50 damages and costs. This is the first time that the owner or manager of a place of public amusement has been punished in Southern California for violating the civil rights law of the State.

¶ Judge Lewis Fawcett of Brooklyn declares that the proportion of black criminals in relation to the population is much smaller than among the whites.

¶ By reversing the decision of the lower court in the case of S. A. Bayliss against the Phoenix Board of Education, the Supreme Court of Arizona upheld the constitutionality of the State law to segregate colored children in the schools.

¶ A penalty of $500 was recovered by Mrs. Minerva Miller, a colored woman, who was excluded from a Paterson theatre because of her color. The Supreme Court has upheld the decision.

¶ The colored people of Oklahoma are continuing to fight the grandfather clause in the courts. They suffered one reverse in the Okmulgee County case, but have filed exceptions.

¶ Joseph Butt, a colored man of Fannin County, Ga., is suing the registrars for disfranchising him under the new law of the State. He is being helped by colored secret societies.

THE GHETTO.

PROPERTY owners in Harlem, this city, have been attaching the following proviso to all sales of property:

"Each of the parties hereto, for himself, or herself, his or her, and each of his or her heirs, legal representatives, successors and assigns, does hereby covenant and agree to and with each of the other parties hereto and his, her and their and each of their legal representatives, successors and assigns, that neither of the parties hereto nor his, her or their, or either of their heirs, legal representatives or assigns, shall or will at any time hereafter, up to and including the first day of June, 1925, permit or cause to be permitted, or suffer or allow or cause to be suffered or allowed either directly or indirectly, the said premises or any part thereof, to be used or occupied in whole or in part by any Negro, mulatto, quadroon, or octoroon of either sex, whatsoever, or any person popularly known and described as a Negro, mulatto, quadroon, or octoroon of either sex as a tenant, subtenant, guest, boarder or occupant, or in any other way, manner or capacity, whatsoever, excepting only that any one family, occupying an entire house or an entire flat or an entire apartment, may employ one male and one female Negro or Negress or two Negresses or one male and one female mulatto or two female mulattoes or one male and one female quadroon or two female quadroons, or one male and one female octoroon, or two female octoroons, as household servants to perform only the duties ordinarily performed by a household servant."

Such agreements, however, are not stopping the spread of the colored population, which is continually invading new streets.

¶ In certain Chicago hotels colored waiters are compelled to sign this agreement:

"I understand that my services may be terminated at any time without prior notice, salary to be paid to time of discharge. I also agree to pay for all breakages or fines imposed on me by the head of my department. And should I be caught eating while on duty or taking provisions away from kitchen or dining room I agree to pay $5 as fine. I further agree that if, at any time during my employment or within sixty days after the termination of same, my employers shall desire to search my person, room, trunk, clothing or effects, I will gladly submit to such examination without objection, and hereby waive all claims for damages on account of such search or examination."

The wages paid are $25 a month.

¶ At the Federal prison in Atlanta, Ga., white and colored prisoners are now separated in the dining room. "Formerly," the Atlanta *Constitution* says, "the men were seated in rows on benches at long, desk-like tables, and there was no discrimination as to color.

"Believing that the new system would conduce more largely to the individual prisoner's self-respect and aid in establishing a new viewpoint as to his obligations, the warden succeeded in providing the small tables."

¶ At Broken Bow, Okla., white citizens are trying to drive out the colored employees of local lumber mills.

¶ The legislature of Louisiana has passed a law authorizing towns to segregate colored homes by refusing building permits at will.

¶ Charleston, S. C., is trying to separate the races on the street cars.

¶ At the Alabama State Bar Association George Huddleston, a white lawyer, said that only five per cent. of the population of Alabama was voting.

"It is foolish of the people of Alabama that they have denied suffrage to such a large part of our population," said the speaker; "the Negro is here to stay, and when you deny him suffrage you have taken away from him the greatest factor toward making him a good citizen."

He was violently opposed by Governor O'Neil.

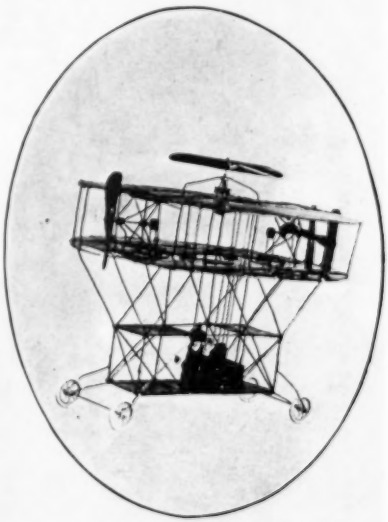
¶ In Indianapolis colored children will not be allowed to play on the courthouse playgrounds which are in the center of the city.

MEN OF THE MONTH

SUFFRAGE WORKERS.

WE present the pictures this month of several colored women interested in "Votes for Women." Mrs. Mary Church Terrell has long been an advocate of woman's suffrage and is well known to readers of THE CRISIS. Mrs. Margaret M. Washington was elected president of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs at the Hampton meeting, where the association took strong ground in favor of woman's suffrage. Other officers are Miss Ida R. Cummings, corresponding secretary, and Miss Elizabeth L. Davis, national organizer.

MRS. MARY CHURCH TERRELL

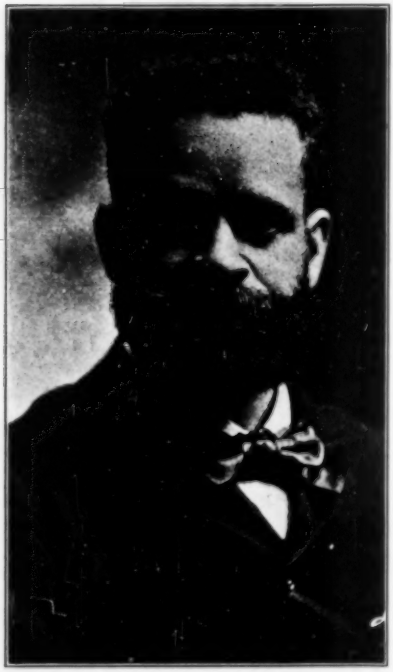


A FLYING MACHINE.

MR. JAMES MARSHALL, a young colored man of Macon, Ga., has just patented a novel flying machine, a picture of which we present. Marshall was born in 1884, studied at the Ballard School, and has for years been employed in machine shops until he has acquired considerable knowledge and skill. While working as second engineer for the Mount Vernon Railway Company he became interested in the flying experiments at Fort Myers. After several experiments he has introduced the "circumplanoscope," which he maintains is a safe flyer, because it cannot capsize, can stand still in the air, can ascend or descend from any spot without special devices and, finally, if the engine stops the machine will still maintain its equilibrium. The further development of this promising invention will be watched with interest.

A JOURNALIST.

FEW colored people themselves know what members of their race are daily accomplishing. When the news came that one of the editors of the Buffalo *Times* was



THE LATE EDWARD W. CROSBY

dead few people knew that Edward Williams Crosby was a colored man. It was, too, in a sense a delicate compliment that none of the obituary notices mentioned the man's color. For after all he was a man and a writer and not simply "colored." We mention his Negro descent here only as a reminder, incentive and warning. Here was a man who rose to a position of importance because the unimportant fact of his race was not used to shut the door of opportunity in his face. He came to Buffalo as a young man, over thirty years ago. He was about thirty-six years old and was educated in New York and Albany, having been born in the eastern part of the State. After coming to Buffalo he acquired considerable fame as a public speaker, his elocutionary gifts being more than ordinary. He took a leading part in the organization of the old-time Buffalo Lincoln Birthday Association, in cooperation with the late Julius Francis, the father of the movement, leading to the general observance of Lincoln's birthday. Of a poetic temperament and possessing rare literary talent, Mr. Crosby naturally drifted into the newspaper business, and for many years, up to the time he was forced to relinquish labor because of his failing health, he was connected with the *Times* as telegraph editor, editorial writer, and the author of the "Junius Letter" and "Snap Shots."

An obituary notice in the *Times* says:

"'Ed' Crosby was one of Buffalo's best-known and most esteemed 'men about town,' made many friends and knew how to retain them. He was of a warm-hearted, genial, true-blue nature, entirely free from guile, honest to the core, trusting and trustworthy. He bore the vicissitudes of life easily and well. His bodily sufferings were likewise borne with fortitude and Christian resignation. May his eternal sleep be calm and sweet."

When the Niagara movement was first formed in Buffalo in 1905, Mr. Crosby was the chief instrument whereby the meeting

MRS. MARGARET M. WASHINGTON
(See page 223.)

was given wide newspaper publicity. While he did not give matters concerning his race undue prominence, yet he was deeply interested in the mass of his people.

THE BULL MOOSE PARTY.

The action of the Bull Moose party in Chicago has brought forth an avalanche of editorials. The Negro question was by far the greatest question before the party, and the New York *Journal* reports Mr. Roosevelt himself as saying:

"It looked for a time as though we would break on the Negro issue. I don't mean that our party was in danger of going to smash, but that it seemed as if some of our supporters could not be reconciled."

The matter was precipitated by Mr. Roosevelt's letter to Julian Harris of Georgia, a Democrat who had been selected to lead the third party in that State. The gist of Mr. Roosevelt's letter is in the following paragraph:

"I earnestly believe that by appealing to the best white men in the South, the men of justice and of vision, as well as of strength and leadership, and by frankly putting the movement in their hands from the outset we shall create a situation by which the colored men of the South will ultimately get justice, as it is not possible for them to get justice if we are to continue and perpetuate the present conditions. The men to whom we appeal are the men who have stood for securing the colored man in his rights before the law, and they can do for him what neither the Northern white man nor the colored men themselves can do. Our only wise course from the standpoint of the colored man himself is to follow the course that we are following toward him in the North and to follow the course we are following toward him in the South."

This paragraph Mr. Roosevelt explained before the convention; among other things he said:

"In Republican national conventions hitherto there has been a large representation of colored men—all from non-Republican. States, the virtue of Republicanism in the Republican States taking only the form of trying to make the Democratic States be good. See what I mean?

"The colored delegates all came from the States that never cast a Republican electoral vote, that never elected a colored man to office, where, largely owing to the action persisted in for forty-five years by the Republican party, the colored man as a matter of fact gradually has lost all his political rights, so that the old policy of attempting to impose on the Southern States from without a certain rule of conduct toward the Negro has, in fact, broken down. And, friends, I regret to say that every man who has ever been to a national convention knows that the character of the great majority of the colored delegates from the South was such as to reflect discredit upon the Republican party and upon the race itself.

"I am giving you the explanation as minutely as I know how.

"Now as soon as the Progressive party was formed I at once set about, as many other men in different States did, securing from the Northern States themselves an ample recognition of the colored man in these States, so that as a matter of fact there is in this convention a representation from the Republican States of colored men such as there never has been before anything like in any convention in the country. • • •

"That is what the Progressives have finally succeeded in doing in the North. We have done it by simply encouraging the best men in the North to act squarely by the colored men as they would by the white men. We have not done it by trying to dragoon the white men into that action. The other system of trying to force in the far Southern States conditions that we cannot make exist there has failed. I propose to take toward the Southern States the exact attitude that we take to West Virginia and Maryland."

Mr. Harris replied as follows to Mr. Roosevelt's letter:

"The South has reached the point, however, where an intelligent discussion of vital issues must take the place of narrow pleas of factionalism. And the greatest stimulus the South has ever received in this direction is your decision to give us the opportunity to build a real opposition party to the politics burdened Democracy. In this you will have whatever help my earnest co-operation can lend you, and I cannot but believe there are hundreds of thousands of others in the South who will gladly join in the acceptance of this joyous deliverance the National Progressive party promises to afford. You have in effect said to the South 'Go ahead and form your new party organization on your lines and as you see fit. You are the best judges of the best methods in your own section.' That is all the South has ever asked."

The convention refused to seat any Negro delegates from the South if their seats were disputed. The most obvious interpretation of this action is made by the New Haven *Register*, which says:

"It amounts to just this, cleared of all fog and nonsense: Theodore Roosevelt wants the votes of the Negroes, a great many of whom he undoubtedly got in the May primaries in such States as Massachusetts, Maryland and Ohio. He proposes all consideration for the Negroes in States where their full voting strength is counted at the polls. In Southern States, where the full strength of the Negro does not count at the polls, he has no use for them. He slaps the latter in the face, thereby to gain the favor of the white population."

The Washington (D. C.) *Herald* adds:

"Mr. Roosevelt, in deciding to ignore the request of the colored man south of the Mason and Dixon line for recognition in Progressive politics has employed his gift as a master of sophistry to a larger extent than ever before. His fertility in 'whys' and 'wherefores' is amazing. At any rate, he is determined that the color line is to be sharply drawn in the South and that only white men will be sought in that section."

COMMENT OF THE EVENING POST.

The New York *Evening Post* in a long editorial on "The Deserted Negro" declares that:

"Mr. Roosevelt had his way in Chicago. Despite the protests of Jane Addams and many others, the party of 'progress,' which bases its hopes for success on its program of social justice, committed the injustice of throwing out the Negro delegates from the South, declaring for a 'lily-white' policy there, and adopted its platform without a single reference of any kind to the colored man. The terrible injustice done him the country over; the denial of civic and political rights guaranteed to him; his practically complete disfranchisement in the South—all of these things were forgotten because the apostle of justice himself hopes, with what Jane Addams herself called 'statesmanlike (!) policy,' to break up the solid South. So the Negroes, even those who worked for Roosevelt in the Taft convention, were flung aside—just as he would fling aside any body or set of men when it served his purpose to do so. The Jews, themselves, to whom he has toadied and whom he has flattered by high appointments, he would discard as readily as he has Mr. Taft, Mr. Root, and his other tried friends and Cabinet associates, should there be political profit to be gained by taking an anti-Semitic position. If there is any one group of men and women in this country suffering from oppression, it is the colored people; but the party of social justice is to think only of wrongs done to whites!

"Undoubtedly Mr. Roosevelt is certain that before the campaign is far along he will win back the disaffected Negroes. He has beyond question achieved what seemed the impossible in regaining the affections of many disgruntled whites in the South after the Booker Washington luncheon, and of the Negroes after the Brownsville episode. His friends will not hesitate to use money in his behalf and the Negro himself, slow to anger and easy going, may recall those many handsome actions of Roosevelt in the White House, and those manly and just letters on the Negro question, the hypocrisy of which he has now so clearly demonstrated. Perhaps the Negro will be fooled again as he has been so many times before. Yet we cannot think this so likely this time; for there is increasing independence of thought among the educated colored people and a growing realization of their latent political power. As Mr. Andrew B. Humphrey pointed out the other day, 600,000 Negroes in twenty-two States may elect the next President. They would, if they could but stand together, if they had but the group con-

sciousness and solidarity so marked among others in our cosmopolitan population. * * *

"That the whole episode will embitter the unhappy lot of the Negroes of the country, let no one doubt. It is difficult for those who are enfranchised and socially free to realize how terrible the burden this race bears; how staggering the handicaps, and how helpless it is without the ballot to rectify its wrongs. Two recent happenings in the South are especially ominous. Our readers will recall how Mr. Roosevelt and the leading white men of the South have applauded Booker Washington's advice to the Negro to acquire property, to be industrious and law abiding as the true way to racial and civic happiness. Well, in Mooresville, N. C., a self-respecting colored carpenter bought real estate some years ago in a decent section of the city; when he began to build his own home on it this spring the city council passed an ordinance forbidding it. In Greensville, N. C., two brothers were prevented by a segregation ordinance from purchasing a $65,000 piece of property they had contracted for. The representatives of Anglo-Saxon culture who owned the property refused to return the $150 paid for the purchase option on the ground that the brothers had broken their contract!

"In Georgia, last June, Anne Bostwick, a Negress who had been previously declared insane, killed the white woman who employed her. She was shot to death by a mob of white men, defenders of Anglo-Saxon superiority. It is, of course, impossible for the colored population to hold the officials responsible or to participate in the election of others who will uphold them in their constitutional rights as to the owning of property or guarantee them the protection of the law when accused of crime. They are helpless and hopeless, for they are without remedy. And the Progressive party, according to its leader, says that, because there have been venal Negro delegates at Republican conventions in the past (by whose votes he has hitherto been only too glad to profit), this oppressed race shall have no representatives in the party of social justice! A distinguished Russian professor, recently visiting in this country, on learning that ten millions of people suffer all the hardships of both the Russian peasant and the Russian Jew, exclaimed: 'Heavens, how can they stand it?' The answer is that they must not stand it. Mr. Roosevelt's falsity to them will be of genuine value if it but stimulates them to further efforts in their own behalf, and strengthens their growing determination to stand as a solid phalanx on behalf of their rights—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

NORTHERN COMMENT.

The New York *World* calls Mr. Roosevelt's action "mocking a race:"

"'Why is man a reasoning being,' asked Benjamin Franklin, 'if he cannot find reasons for what he wants to do?' Mr. Roosevelt wants the white vote at the South and the Negro vote at the North, and he reasons it out in a letter to the successor of 'Uncle Remus' on a moral plane as elevated as any highwayman ever adopted in forwarding a desperate enterprise on the road.

"His new and original solution of the race problem is that in the Northern States, where in some cases colored voters hold the balance of power, they are to have full political rights and some honors, but in the Southern States, where no one who hopes for white votes can advocate the equality of the Negro before the law, they are to be cast out as hopelessly ignorant and corrupt."

The Hartford *Courant* is even more pointed:

"The Theodore Roosevelt who has just told the Negroes of the Southern States that they must not try to butt into the conventions of his new party is the same Theodore Roosevelt who ten years ago—when he appointed a Negro to the collectorship of the port of Charleston—told remonstrating white men that he wouldn't shut the door of hope and opportunity in any worthy citizen's face because of that citizen's color. He wrote on that occasion: 'It has been my consistent policy in every State where their numbers warranted it to recognize colored men of good repute and standing in making appointments to office; I am unable to see how I can legitimately be asked to make an exception for South Carolina.' He's also the same Colonel Roosevelt who might never have lived to appoint anybody to office but for the timely arrival on a certain Cuban hillside, fourteen years ago, of some Negro regulars who knew their business."

The Springfield *Republican* calls Mr. Roosevelt's letter "shifty and tortuous" with passages "which attempt to befog the

essential question. It is represented that the Progressive party could not rest its future upon the black race, when, in truth, the question is why the new party could not make its appeal to both races and thus ignore the color line, as the Constitution does. Dust is also thrown about by Mr. Roosevelt's irrelevant dilation upon the welcome his party gives to the Negro in the North, where the color line in politics is negligible. But no one can fail to see the essential point of this humiliating performance, which is nothing but the bid of an audaciously opportunist politician for white men's votes by showing the black man the door.

"The feeling of disgust at the spectacle is necessarily strong for two reasons. When he was President Mr. Roosevelt paraded himself as the defender of the black race's political rights in the South by forcing upon the remonstrating whites of Indianola a Negro postmistress, and by forcing upon the remonstrating whites of Charleston, S. C., a Negro collector of customs. The 'door of hope' for the black race he preached most zealously in his eloquent letters to Southern citizens at that time. The Rooseveltian conviction that Southern communities like the city of Charleston should be compelled to accept a colored collector of the port was so unshakable that Dr. Crum was kept in office throughout the second Roosevelt administration. But those were the days when Mr. Roosevelt was not looking for white men's votes in South Carolina.

"The second reason why a feeling of disgust overcomes one is that Mr. Roosevelt's new party is proclaimed to be peculiarly one of ideals. If it were not for his holier-than-thou attitude in forming a party without bosses, a party without the withering touch of big business and crooked politics, a party which should respond to every heart beat of humanity and every human aspiration for the noble, the good and the true, his present attitude would be less exposed to the derision of the ungodly and the tears of the saints."

The Springfield *Morning Union* says:

"Stripped of its sham and hypocrisy the Roosevelt declaration of the third-term party's attitude toward the colored voter is simply this: It is catering to the colored voters in the North, where the Negro has always been secure in his political rights, and to the white voters in the South, where under Democratic State rule the white men have been able to deprive the Negro of his rights by wholesale disfranchisement, intimidation and other devices. In a word, the colonel is riding two horses in his pretended solution of the race problem. He professes to be for the colored man in the North, but is decidedly 'agin him' in the South. Colored voters North and South, we believe, will see through this shallow artifice. We believe that few, if any, will desert the party that has been their staunch friend for more than fifty years to cast their lot with the party that places the interests and rights of the Southern Negro in the hands of such 'men of justice and of vision' as the leaders of the third-term party in Louisiana and other Southern States."

The Boston *Transcript* thinks that the attitude of the colored delegates in the Republican convention has had much to do with Mr. Roosevelt's state of mind.

"Certainly no one believes that that clause would have been written had the colored delegates at the Chicago convention yielded to the tempting persuasiveness of Ormsby McHarg, and betrayed their trust in sufficient numbers to give Roosevelt the Republican nomination for President. They showed a much keener sense of honor than his lieutenants who attempted to debauch them; but to make his point he marks himself ungrateful as well as illogical. It is only another instance of his readiness to sacrifice anybody, friend, well-wisher or benefactor, who for the time being seems to be an obstacle to the fruition of his incorrigible obsession."

When the Bull Moose party started, colored people of South Carolina hastened to offer assistance. They received a letter from Colonel Roosevelt's secretary July 16, saying that Mr. Roosevelt "feels very much encouraged by your support and wishes to say that he is going to make the hardest kind of a fight that he knows how, and he hopes that you will continue to back him up." When, however, Mr. Roosevelt found that there were no South Carolina white men who could organize the party, Mr. Roosevelt refused to let the Negroes organize on the ground that he could not build up his party there "in antagonism to local usages," South Carolina was not represented in the convention.

The New York *Tribune* notes that "less than 25 per cent. of the New Yorkers who stand at Armageddon and battle for 'the rule of the people' felt it safe to say that 'distinction of race or class in political life has no place in a democracy' and that the Negroes 'deserve and must have justice, opportunity and a voice in their own government.' Mr. Timothy L. Woodruff explained that he approved the resolution, but could not support it. And other heroic souls took the same ground, apparently fearing that incautious loyalty to principle might, as a special dispatch to the personal organ of Mr. Roosevelt puts it, 'prove embarrassing to Colonel Roosevelt.'

"So the 'door of hope' in the third-term movement closes on the Southern Negro. If he looks back, puzzled to the brave days of the championship of Dr. Crum, just let him realize that the voice of the people does not find him a convenient or useful instrument at the present moment."

The *Tribune* continues:

"Mr. Roosevelt has shut the 'door of hope' in the face of the Negro with a bang, but the Negroes and all others who would be endangered if this lawless man, with his hostility to courts, his disregard for constitutions, should have his way, may rest content. The colonel's opportunity for mischief has passed; the door of hope has been closed upon him; and all good Americans can be thankful that the derided Constitution remains as a bulwark."

The Washington *Herald* thinks that:

"Mr. Roosevelt's attitude toward the colored man in this particular instance is thoroughly in accord with his past record. There would never have been a wholesale dismissal of soldiers at Brownsville if the companies had been composed of white men, and every one knows that Mr. Roosevelt's recognition of the Negro during his administration was infrequent and not spontaneous. It is a pity, of course, that he has gone to the extent of arousing race prejudices in a section where, during the past few years, there has been at least an outward show of harmony. Desperate conditions, however, demand desperate remedies and the sacrifice of the colored brother in the South is to be made complete."

The Hartford *Courant* is suspicious of Mr. Roosevelt's love for the South. "In the lexicon of Theodore Roosevelt's youth," it says, "the gray-clad soldiers of the South were rebels and traitors; it is remembered that on one occasion he was insultingly rude to the aged and broken Jefferson Davis. After his arrival at the White House, all that was changed; the country began to hear about his Georgia mother and his two uncles who fought in the Confederate army; he made a young Lee one of his White House aides. This summer the two Confederate uncles have reappeared in his writings and discourses. When the Republican party denied him the third term he clamored for, and when he, thereupon, instantly decided that the country must have a new party right away, he announced that he wanted in his new party not only 'progressive' Republicans, but also 'progressive' Democrats, and not only the sons and grandsons of the soldiers of the Union, but also the sons and grandsons of the soldiers of the Confederacy. It was at that very inopportune moment that some Negro citizens down South embarrassed the colonel greatly by electing delegates of their own race to his convention. What was to be done?

"He has wriggled out of his quandary after a fashion and with a most lavish expenditure of language. The language boils down to this: No Negro delegates from the South are wanted, and none need apply. Of course he has plenty of fine words for the citizens of African descent; he wants them to think of him as their truest and best friend as far as circumstances permit. But in politics fine words butter no parsnips. The Southern Negroes have learned where they stand with the colonel."

The Boston *Record* calls the action of the convention "the most discordant note struck in connection with the new party," and continues: "It was avoided as long as possible. Long thought did not clarify the mind of Colonel Roosevelt, who shifted and sidled in his Julian Harris letter in a way painful to his friends and displeasing to many who would carry the abstract principles of absolute democracy and a voice for everyone right through to practical application everywhere. Jane Addams, whose mind works as clearly, as sanely, and as close to Christian principles as any in the land, warned the new party to stop and look before disfranchising the Southern Negroes. Her vision and her statesmanship are clearer than Colonel Roosevelt's on this point."

ROOSEVELT AND LINCOLN.

Many papers cannot refrain from drawing comparisons between Roosevelt and Lincoln, a comparison of which Mr. Roosevelt is very fond.

The New York *Globe* says that Mr. Roosevelt is not suggestive of Lincoln:

"The Negro question is not now gravely pressing, and William H. Taft and Woodrow Wilson, no more than Theodore Roosevelt, utter no protest against the notorious violation of the Fifteenth Amendment; nevertheless, the Negro question so relates to fundamental issues that the treatment of it is definitely indicative of spirit. It is a most extraordinary thing for a new national political organization, pretending to be specially progressive and to be greatly devoted to human rights, to begin its career by espousing the most reactionary of doctrines. This doctrine implies recognition of sectionalism; it is in square violation of the Democratic principles that Colonel Roosevelt declared for in his Carnegie Hall speech; it fosters lawlessness by assuming that it is permissible to select what parts of the Constitution are to be obeyed and what disobeyed.

"Abraham Lincoln, whose name and memory have so often been invoked during the parturition of the new party, was too clear in mind and too sound in morals to have authorized or consented to such action as that at Chicago to-day and yesterday. The new Progressive party has not made a progressive start."

The New York *Times* is sure that:

"What Mr. Lincoln would say about this can be imagined but not expressed; but the reincarnated should have pondered long and seriously before determining thus to cut up by the roots the men who have been so loyal and useful to him all these years, and who were watered and attended to so carefully by McHarg in his recent wanderings in the South. Of course, McHarg has had nothing to do with this latest ukase, so that he will be absolved by his colored friends in the South of any disposition to count them only when they would come. He is entitled at least to credit for playing the game straighter than that, and even the head of the Bull Moose herd should revise his proclamation to the extent of noting exceptions in the case of the colored delegates who, in his behalf, went as far as they could go at the Republican convention to disregard their instructions."

The Battle Creek *Enquirer* makes this comparison:

"The Negroes asked Lincoln for bread and they were given bread. The Negroes, far more intelligent fifty years later, asked Roosevelt for bread and he gave them a stone.

"Lincoln's heroic treatment of the Negro question—his emancipation proclamation—was issued a year prior to his coming before the people for second election. Roosevelt's craven attitude toward the Negro is taken on the eve of his coming before the people for a third term as President. Lincoln's course was as far as the antipodes from a popular appeal; Roosevelt's course is so patently a bid for the electoral votes of the South that the simplest may understand."

There is, of course, much speculation as to what the attitude of the Negro is going to be toward the new party.

The Philadelphia *Enquirer* thinks that:

"It is not difficult to predict the outcome. The South will stand solidly by Wilson, and the colored voters everywhere will stand solidly by Taft. No man, white or colored, is going to kiss the hand of the man who knocks him down and kicks him."

The Wilmington *Every Evening* thinks that Mr. Roosevelt may have solidified the Negro vote against himself, and the Biddeford *Journal* says:

"In spite of the charge made by certain Negro leaders that the Republican party has failed to justify its pledges for a strict enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, the hope of the race, so far as that hope has a foundation in national politics, lies with the party to which Abraham Lincoln belonged. The Negroes can expect nothing from the Democratic party; it is hardly possible, having been smitten on one cheek by the new party as soon as it was born, that they will be in a mood to turn the other before the pain caused by the first blow has been alleviated."

"It is already apparent that the attitude of the colonel toward colored support in the South will be vigorously resented by the Negro voters of both that section and the North," says the Philadelphia *Record*. "They would be more than human, indeed, if they should overlook such a gratuitous affront upon their race. Whether this

scornful attitude will have any influence in weakening the traditional adherence of the Negroes to the G. O. P. is a matter that only time can determine. During the Baltimore convention a demonstration was made in that city by a number of colored Democrats, and it is not unlikely that the campaign will bring to the front more of this class."

SOUTHERN COMMENT.

This trend toward the Democratic party is even echoed by some Southern papers. The Richmond *Journal*, for instance, says that "the only friends of the Negro are the people of the South and the only place left for him to go is in the Democratic party, and he will only be admitted there when he asks to come, shows that he has been purified of Republican heresies, and that he is qualified by education to appreciate the privilege of the ballot."

On the whole, the Southern papers are either gleeful or contemptuous.

The Galveston *News* declares that Mr. Roosevelt's remarks are not "highly illuminating."

The Asheville *Citizen* regards the Negro as "kicked out."

"Meanwhile the big chief of the moose tribe is heading what must now be known as the party of the 'lily whites' and the regenerated Northern Negro. For the dusky-hued son of the South there is no opening. It is a hard blow when one considers what Trojan service the tribe of Ham has performed in the Southern Republican trenches. If there was any unusually heavy digging to be done, any subterranean lines to be laid, it was always 'my dark brother' of the South that the Republicans called upon. In the various flights of the Bull Moose for fame and office it was always the Southern delegate who held the balloon. And now—but let us drop the curtain on the harrowing tragedy."

Most of the Southern papers agree that there is little chance of Roosevelt's breaking the solid South.

The Shreveport (La.) *Times* declares that "the colonel has fooled nobody in this part of the country. His bid for Southern support is about as cheap a piece of demagogism as the country has witnessed in forty years."

The Birmingham *Age-Herald* says that "the colonel will get no Southern electoral votes, no matter what position he takes on the Negro question or the boss-picked delegates. The solid vote of the South, including Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri, will be cast for Wilson and Marshall. Even sugar-raising Louisiana will cast her electoral votes for the Democratic nominees. The sage of Oyster Bay is dreaming when he thinks he can win even one electoral vote in the South. He cannot, and his grand standing will deceive no one in this section of the country.

"He will, however, secure as many electoral votes in the South as Mr. Taft will."

"Mr. Roosevelt seems to think," says the Charleston *News and Courier*, "that the intelligence of the South is as low as its resources were at the time he found it politic to insult the section and the section's leaders. He believes that the people down this way are very gullible, very stupid, wholly lacking in penetration. Southern Democrats need not mingle with blacks in their own States, but when they get North they must receive Northern blacks as brothers. Geography is to be the test of political qualification. Isn't that clever? Why didn't anybody happen to think about it before?

"Down South the lizard is considered a curious enough thing, but nobody pays very much attention to it. Youngsters sometimes watch its antics with delight, but grown men devote no time to it. Mr. Roosevelt as a political lizard will be no more than a curiosity."

United States Senator Newlands hastened to approve of Mr. Roosevelt's dicta and adds:

"He will come out all right in the end, and will reach the inevitable conclusion that the blacks, as a race, must everywhere in this country be deprived of sovereignty; and that is what black suffrage means. The same reason that justifies disfranchisement of the blacks in party justifies it in government. If we ought to have a white man's party, we should also have a white man's government.

"The colonel complained of black domination at Chicago. But what does he think of black domination at Washington, maintained by the black vote in five pivotal Northern States, where they have the balance of power? Does not the same reasoning which demands the Negro's disfranchisement in parties demand his disfranchisement in government?"

The Hoboken *Observer* thinks that "John Brown's Body" was not an appropriate song for the Bull Moose convention, since Brown was the man who undertook to give Negroes their freedom by starting a revolution which cost him his life; and the Boston *Record*, quoting Colonel Roosevelt's declaration that "the question is disposed of now," says with prophetic insight "that it cannot be disposed of so easily. He cannot do offhand with a few words what others have not done through many weary years. No question is settled on a basis of favors for some and postponement for others. Colonel Roosevelt's attitude in this matter raises sharp questions as to his ideas in attacking 'sectionalism.' It is sectionalism emphasized, giving to one section a code of ethics not applicable by him to another."

One interesting result is a rather spirited defense of Southern Negroes by the white South, as when, for instance, the Montgomery *Advertiser* declares that:

"In the South the thinking white man knows that the third-term candidate's attempt to draw the line between the Northern Negro and the Southern Negro, because the Northern Negro is a better citizen, is mere buncombe. The only difference between the Negro of the North and the South is a difference in numbers, and the more progressive Negroes in the North are not weighed down by an immense mass of ignorant Negroes, as are the more progressive Negroes of the South. As a matter of fact, the leaders of the Negroes in the South are perhaps superior in education, common sense and practical experience to the Negro of the North."

KING'S DAUGHTERS AND INJURED NEGROES.

The Corpus Christi *Caller* is a paper published in a thriving Texas town on the Gulf. It has been advocating the establishment of an emergency hospital for Negroes who are injured working on the piers and urged the King's Daughters, who are in charge of the town's hospital arrangement, to take up the matter. These ladies, who bear the badge of the silver cross "In His Name," refused, and the *Caller* comments:

"The King's Daughters have said they do not care to take upon themselves the providing of an emergency ward or hospital under any circumstances for Negroes. So be it.

"Going back then to the main question, that of providing for the injured darkey who gets a leg smashed or his back crushed, we find we are just where we started and the incident of the Negro, Frank Henderson, who lay two or three hours in a well-known physician's office and was finally carted off to the depot and then sent to New Orleans, is likely to be repeated any day, and does happen not infrequently.

"The matter can be looked at from several standpoints. One is from the standpoint of common humanity and the decent treatment of a badly injured person. Another is from the standpoint of expediency, convenience and the general welfare of the public. To use a ladylike phrase, it isn't 'nice' to have smashed up and bloody colored men lying around in physicians' offices for several hours nor in the public waiting station.

"Perhaps the solution lies in part with the colored people themselves. They are prone to organize benevolent and protective associations in considerable numbers for their mutual protection. If they were to form an association for the building and equipping of a small emergency hospital, located and operated with the approval and supervision of some of the white people, they would be doing their own people a great service."

¶ Joseph Fels says in the Philadelphia *Evening Ledger:* "Comparatively few Philadelphians in comfortable circumstances realize the extent to which a most merciless kind of rack renting prevails in this alleged 'city of homes.' The worst sufferers from this predatory system are the colored people. Race prejudice is a great help to landlords in enabling them to practice the worst kind of extortions. This is a fact well enough known to those whose business enables them to get accurate information about rent paid by those dealing with them, and information nearly as accurate about wages received. One of these men was able to figure from information contained in his records that the average wage received by his colored customers is $9.90 a week and the average rent paid by them is $18.40 a month. It appears from this that our colored fellow citizens pay nearly 43 per cent. of their wages to Philadelphia landlords for the privilege of living and working in the city."

¶ Thomas Jesse Jones gives the following statistics from the census of 1910 in the *Southern Workman:*

Negro farm laborers and Negro farmers of the South cultivate farms whose area is approximately 100,000,000 acres. Negro farmers cultivate 42,500,000 acres of Southern land.

Forty per cent. of all agricultural workers in the South are Negroes.

There are in the South approximately two and a third million Negro agricultural workers, of whom almost one and a half million are farm laborers and 890,000 are farmers owning or renting their farms.

Of the 890,000 Negro farmers in the South 218,000, or 25 per cent., are owners. In Virginia, for example, 67 per cent. of all Negro farmers are owners.

Negro farm owners of the South own and cultivate 15,702,579 acres, which they have aequired in less than fifty years. Add to this sum the land owned, but not cultivated by the Negroes of the South and the land owned by the Negroes of the North, and the total land ownership of the Negroes of the United States undoubtedly aggregated 20,000,000 acres in 1910.

The total value of land and buildings on farms owned or rented by the colored farmers of the South is almost $1,000,000,000.

Negro farms of the South have increased 20 per cent., while Negro population has increased 10 per cent. White farms, on the other hand, have increased only 18 per cent., while the white population increased 24 per cent.

¶ Ever since Mr. Roosevelt invited Mr. Booker T. Washington to stay for luncheon we have wondered, in view of the hurrah it stirred up, just what part of the sequent indignation was pose and what part sincerity. A few Sundays ago a team made up of members of the New York Giants was booked to play an exhibition game in Jersey City against a nine called the Smart Set. When it transpired that the Smart Set team was an organization of Negro players, many of the Giants were outraged and threatened to leave the grounds. But the attendance was large and the money was guaranteed, so the Caucasian ball players, fletcherizing their pride, decided to play.

By far the wildest-eyed, most aggrieved, most insulted player of all was Mr. Louis Drucke of Texas, seh, who was slated to pitch for the Giants. Mr. Drucke's Southern blood went to 212° in no time. Play with niggehs? A Texas gentleman?

So Mr. Drucke said no, he wouldn't pitch. Leastwise not under the name of Drucke. "Put my name in the papers as O'Brien," said Mr. Drucke of Texas, "and I'll pitch." Which was agreed to, and Mr. Drucke, alias O'Brien, pitched the game.

The incident made us wonder again just how sincere were most human prejudices. Pitching against the black brothers was to be borne, but to have it known—that, Mawruss, is something else again.—*The Metropolitan Magazine.*

¶ The Negro may be looked down upon by the white man, but it is a significant thing that the white man is now getting his musical inspiration from the Negro. The ragtime rhythm which comes so natural to the shuffling feet of the African is the rhythm by which the world is singing and dancing to-day. While much of the ragtime music which is put out is villainous stuff, the fact remains that a mine of musical wealth has been opened up in the form of this peculiar and very catching movement. It will leave its stamp on music for all time, and not only popular music, but music of the very highest class. We find some examples of ragtime in the music of the older composers, but they are only sporadic. It is clear that the possibilities of this hitchy syncopated time were not appreciated until within the last few years. Now the American composers have got hold of the idea and in truth ragged it to a frazzle. It would be interesting to hear what the master musicians of a generation or two from now will make of ragtime, when it is developed to its fullest scope. This country is moving ahead musically with great rapidity. True, we are not producing many great masters of composition as yet, but our time is coming. The field is being cultivated and in due course the fruits will be gathered. Americans have an insistent taste for music. So far it has been satisfied in the main with rather crude products; but all this is educative, remember. After a while better things will come. A great and growing young nation should not be in a hurry to achieve; its work is preparation.—*The Pathfinder,* Washington, D. C.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

WHY should the colored voter be interested in woman's suffrage? There are three cogent reasons. First, it is a great human question. Nothing human must be foreign, uninteresting or unimportant to colored citizens of the world. Whatever concerns half mankind concerns us. Secondly, any agitation, discussion or reopening of the problem of voting must inevitably be a discussion of the right of black folk to vote in America and Africa. Essentially the arguments for and against are the same in the case of all groups of human beings. The world with its tendencies and temptations to caste must ever be asking itself how far may the governed govern? How far can the responsibility of directing, curbing and encouraging mankind be put upon mankind? When we face this vastest of human problems frankly, most of us, despite ourselves and half unconsciously, find ourselves strangely undemocratic, strangely tempted to exclude from participation in government larger and larger numbers of our neighbors. Only at one point, with disconcerting unanimity, do we pause, and that is with ourselves. That we should vote we cannot for a moment doubt even if we are willing to acknowledge, as most of us are, that we are neither all wise nor infinitely good.

This fact should give us pause; if we in our potent weakness and shortcomings see the vast necessity for the ballot not only for our own selfish ends, but for the larger good of all our neighbors, do not our neighbors see the same necessity? And is not the unanswerable cogency of the argument for universal suffrage regardless of race or sex merely a matter of the point of view? Merely a matter of honestly putting yourself in the position of the disfranchised, and seeing the world through their eyes? The same arguments and facts that are slowly but surely opening the ballot box to women in England and America must open it to black men in America and Africa. It only remains for us to help the movement and spread the argument wherever we may.

Finally, votes for women mean votes for black women. There are in the United States three and a third million adult women of Negro descent. Except in the rural South, these women have larger economic opportunity than their husbands and brothers and are rapidly becoming better educated. One has only to remember the recent biennial convention of colored women's clubs with its 400 delegates to realize how the women are moving quietly but forcibly toward the intellectual leadership of the race. The enfranchisement of these women will not be a mere doubling of our vote and voice in the nation; it will tend to stronger and more normal political life, the rapid dethronement of the "heeler" and "grafter" and the making of politics a method of broadest philanthropic race betterment, rather than a disreputable means of private gain. We sincerely trust that the entire Negro vote will be cast for woman suffrage in the coming elections in Ohio, Kansas, Wisconsin and Michigan.

MR. ROOSEVELT.

WE are glad that at last there can be no doubt in any colored man's mind concerning the attitude of Theodore Roosevelt toward his race. There were many of us who were disposed, after time had dimmed the bitter memory, to attribute the unjust dismissal of hundreds of colored soldiers who were not even charged with wrongdoing, because of the suspected but far from proven guilt of a few—there were some of us who wished to attribute this official Brownsville "lynching" to the mistaken but sincere impulse of a strong personality rather than to meaner motive.

Since then, however, Theodore Roosevelt has been put to a greater test. To explain the action of his progressive convention one must realize Mr. Roosevelt's attitude toward black men. He does not respect them. It is doubtful if ever in his life he has really known a colored man whom he thought was wholly a man. The colored men with whom he has come in contact have executed his orders, have taken his commands and his money, but his association with them has been essentially that of master and servant, not of man and man. Even when he has defended colored men his motive may have been stubborn determination to have his own way rather than a desire for real justice.

For this reason Mr. Roosevelt has been unreasonably irritated against Negroes several times. It would be impossible for him to explain his own feeling or altogether account for it. It has in it a certain Southern flavor and is perhaps something like what one would feel if one's cat should insist on argument and rights instead of purring obedience. How else can we explain Mr. Roosevelt's irritation at the black soldiers who saved his regiment in Cuba? His violence at Brownsville? His evident deep resentment at the action of the colored delegates at Chicago? With thousands of his white fellow Americans Mr. Roosevelt shares that half-conscious contempt for black men which arises because of an almost absolute lack of contact between the races on planes of equality and mutual respect.

Starting then with this there can be little doubt but that the mission of Ormsby McHarg to the South was based on the assumption that the buying up of Negro delegates was simply a matter of money. The sixty-six colored delegates in the Republican convention held the balance of power; if the bulk of them had been purchasable they could have sold their votes for large sums of money, and there is little doubt but that Mr. Roosevelt's agents offered them large sums.

There was, too, historic reason for Mr. Roosevelt's assumption: There has always been a disgracefully large purchasable element among the black delegates from the South. It has been a shame, but a shame the cause of which is perfectly plain, and for which the Negro race could not in justice be blamed.

Moreover, it happened that precisely that reform for which Mr. Roosevelt and others had sometimes but not always asked was gradually coming; never before had a Southern Negro delegation to the Republican convention contained so large a proportion of self-respecting men who could not be bribed. This fact Mr. Roosevelt and his agents discovered, but the discovery seems again to have irritated rather than pleased; just as in Reconstruction times, the one thing that the white South seems to have feared more that bad Negro rule was good Negro rule, and it was the reform governments of South Carolina and Mississippi that led to the overthrow of Negro rule just at the moment when reform seemed about to succeed.

So here is repetition of history: the sixty-six Negro delegates had many politicians and "grafters," but it had also merchants, lawyers and physicians, honest, straightforward, unpurchasable men, a body of encouraging promise for better things. Not only that, but in the new Progressive party sat several black delegates of high calibre, quite fit, we are told by Mr. Roosevelt himself, to stand beside their white fellows.

It was such men, who for themselves and as solemn trustees for the rights and hopes of 10,000,000 human beings—10,000,000 men, women and children who have been wronged as few modern peoples have been wronged—asked the adoption of this plank by the New Crusaders:

"The Progressive party recognizes that distinctions of race or class in political life have no place in a democracy. Especially does the party realize that a group of 10,000,000 people who have in a generation changed from a slave to a free labor system, re-established family life, accumulated $1,000,000,000 of real property, including 20,000,000 acres of land, and reduced their illiteracy from 80 to 30 per cent., deserve and must have justice, opportunity and a voice in their own government. The party, therefore, demands for the American of Negro descent the repeal of unfair discriminatory laws and the right to vote on the same terms on which other citizens vote."

This is the exact wording of the original plank which was written in THE CRISIS office.

Such was the meagre declaration that black men asked. They did not get this. Not only was this refused, but every suggested modification, refinement and watering down was rejected, and the platform of the new Progressive party of human rights appears absolutely silent on the greatest question of human rights that ever faced America!

Furthermore, lest there should be any misinterpretation of this silence, the party proceeded to bar practically every representative of 8,000,000 Southern Negroes and to recognize delegates chosen by Southern conventions open "to white people only." To seal this compact these Hosts at Armageddon stood and sang:

> "Mine eyes have seen the glory
> of the coming of the Lord!"

Selah!

Now, Mr. Black Voter—you with 600,000 ballots in your hand, you with the electoral vote of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and New York in your pocket—WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

VIRGINIA CHRISTIAN.

VIRGINIA CHRISTIAN was a product of Virginia far more than of the colored race. It was the social organization of white Virginia that made this girl what she was and then brutally killed for it. The State pushed her down into poverty despite the hard-earned pennies of her father; the State refused to educate her or even to let Northern philanthropy do it; the State put her as a servant, body and soul, into the hands of her mistress and constituted that mistress judge and jury over this ignorant, wayward child. At the age of sixteen—and, despite the attempt of Governor Mann to becloud the fact, the testimony as to the girl's tender age is incontrovertible—this child was convicted of murder, when there is not a white man in the nation who after impartial review of the facts would not have to admit that every circumstance shows lack of premeditation with a strong case for self-defense. Make this child as brutal, immoral and irresponsible as you will and the black fact remains that a civilized community made her and then murdered her for being herself. And that community was Christian Virginia!

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF
COLORED PEOPLE

THE MONTH'S WORK.

THE association now numbers 755 members. At the last board meeting the Indianapolis branch was admitted to intermembership.

Readers of THE CRISIS learned in its last issue of the death of the managing editor, Mary Dunlop Maclean. At the meeting of the board held Tuesday, August 6, a motion was unanimously carried that "immediate steps be taken to raise a memorial fund to Mrs. Mary Dunlop Maclean, who had given herself so untiringly to the association's work." The question of the exact disposal of the fund, whether it should constitute the beginning of an association endowment or should be used for some special piece of work, was to be left to a future date. The formation of a memorial fund committee is now in progress. Mrs. Maclean was known to many of those most interested in the success of THE CRISIS and the work of the association. It grieved her deeply when she was obliged to absent herself, even for a few days, from her CRISIS desk. Shall we not now, in the only way possible to us, perpetuate her work? Contributions to the memorial fund should be sent to the association's treasurer, Mr. Walter E. Sachs, 60 Wall Street, New York.

CHRISTIAN VIRGINIA
vs.
VIRGINIA CHRISTIAN.

On August 1 we received a communication from representatives of the National Association of Colored Women, which had just convened in Hampton, requesting that a lawyer be sent to Virginia to investigate the case of a colored girl condemned to death August 16. It was impossible for the association's counsel to go, so the secretary was sent instead.

Virginia Christian, a young colored girl of Hampton, was accused by Mrs. Belote, for whom she had washed for several years, of stealing a skirt. She denied the charge, but expressed her willingness to pay to the amount of $5. She refused, however, to return to Mrs. Belote's to work. Mrs. Belote sent her daughter for Virginia who was not at home. Upon her return, her mother told her Mrs. Belote wanted her to go at once to her house, and persuaded the girl to do so against her will.

From this point we have only Virginia's story of the crime. She says Mrs. Belote took her into a bedroom, closed the door and again accused her of stealing the skirt, threatening to have her sent to jail for six months if she did not return it. Angered at Virginia's persistent denial of the charge, Mrs. Belote threw a cuspidor at the girl, hitting her on the shoulder and hurting her so she was unable to raise her arm the next day. The cuspidor fell and broke and then Mrs. Belote began throwing the pieces of broken crockery at Virginia. The girl by this time was in a blind rage. Grabbing a piece of broomstick from the window, she struck Mrs. Belote over the forehead, felling her instantly. Still infuriated, and also to stop the woman's screams, she thrust a towel down her throat. She then crossed the room to get her hat and stopped to pick up Mrs. Belote's pocketbook, which lay on the floor by the bureau. It contained several dollars and a ring. The girl went home and busied herself about the house, telling nothing of the affair, because, in her own words, she "was afraid." When questioned as to whether she thought the woman was dead, she said "No," she never thought she would die, she had not meant to kill her, she was "just mad." She admitted that, although Mrs. Belote was in front of the door, she was such a small woman that she (Virginia) could easily have left the house had she not been scared and had the woman's attack not angered her. She further said they were

alone in the house. The woman's body was not discovered for some hours. Later, when the officers came to Virginia's squalid home, they found her busy with household tasks. When they told her she must go with them she simply said: "May I wash my hands?"

Feeling in Hampton ran high. Many people think a lynching was barely averted. The case was tried two weeks after the murder, while there was still great excitement. This, together with the girl's uncouth appearance and her rude way of telling of her deed, decided her counsel, two colored lawyers, not to put her on the stand. The difficulties of the case were greatly increased by the girl's utter ignorance. She permitted herself to be questioned and weighed before she had counsel, and after being sentenced confessed to a colored minister in the presence of newspaper men, without the knowledge of her lawyers. Space forbids a recital of the legal history of the case. Two reprieves were secured. When the last one of two weeks was granted, in order to enable the girl's counsel to produce new evidence, they wrote the Governor that they had given up the case. It was at this point, August 5, eleven days before the date set for execution, that the association's representative arrived in Hampton.

After careful investigation of the facts, the clear grounds for executive clemency seemed to lie in the girl's youth, her wretched environment, her dubious mental responsibility, and the fact that many people, both white and colored, believe the murder was not premeditated. That the girl's attorneys, friends and the ministers to whom she confessed believe her to be without morals and a thief should have helped rather than prejudiced her case, particularly with anyone who had seen her and the miserable surroundings in which she had grown up. Her mother, an untruthful and dishonest woman, became paralyzed three years ago, when Virginia had to interrupt her slight schooling to help eke out the family's living. There are eight children—one is married and one beside Virginia is old enough to work. The father, an industrious hard-working man, who walks four miles daily to save carfare, has $1.25 a day on which to support his family. Still he had managed to save several hundred dollars through a building and loan association to pay for his house, all of which had to go to the lawyers whom he asked to defend his child.

In addition to the efforts made in Richmond and Hampton to influence the Governor in the girl's favor, many letters were sent him by members of the National Association, including some of the most representative lawyers in the country. He steadfastly refused to be shaken in his view that the crime was premeditated, saying that he believed the girl went to the house with the express purpose of stealing the pocketbook. Later he seems to have wavered on this point. He also insisted she was at least nineteen, basing his opinion upon medical examination. Some of the arguments he advanced were entirely outside the evidence on which the case was judged and so could not justly be taken into consideration. In a letter to one of our members Governor Mann says that Mrs. Belote was "seventy years old" and a press dispatch makes her seventy-two. The sworn testimony of Mrs. Belote's married daughter is that her mother was "fifty-one years of age."

An effort was made to show him that the premeditation theory was weak, since persons premeditating violence do not have to be persuaded to go to the house of the intended victim. Even the most ghastly feature of the crime, the forcing of the towel down the victim's throat over five inches, could have been explained by an act of brutal strength in a moment of mad passion. The prosecution, however, claimed through medical opinion that this towel was forced down with the window stick, and must have taken sufficient time to constitute premeditation, which under the Virginia law need only be of a few minutes' duration. On this point the girl's denial was not shaken, and her story is believed by most of the colored people and by a large number of white people. Moreover, it must be remembered, Virginia did not take the stick with her to the victim's house, but seized it in a paroxysm of rage after being attacked. In the absence of vital statistics, the evidence as to the girl's age depends on her parents' assertion, the testimony of neighbors, and particularly the records of the Whittier School connected with Hampton Institute, where the girl was entered as born August 15, 1895.

After careful examination of the facts and an interview with the prisoner, the association's representative decided that an effort should be made to save this girl's life on the ground of her age, lack of premeditation, doubt as to moral responsibility, and because

of the increasing general belief that it is a disgrace to civilization for any modern State to put to death a mental child, whatever her color or race, when that child has been the product of adverse conditions for which society is to blame. It was Christian Virginia against Virginia Christian—a Christian Virginia which does not even provide a reformatory for colored girl delinquents.

After failing to get the sentence commuted an attempt was made to secure a further reprieve in order to gain time to have the case reconsidered. The most eminent criminal lawyers in the State were consulted, but they all refused to touch the matter, alleging as their reasons that they had been called in too late, and that the defense did not now have a case. They said they could not consider undertaking a case for the association which they would be sure to lose. Some of them admitted, however, that they did not believe it premeditated murder and that it was a crying shame that the great State of Virginia had no reformatory for colored girls.

Public sentiment, which was absolutely necessary, if anything was to be accomplished for the girl, had been colored by an unfriendly press. The political situation also made it impossible just now to crystallize favorable opinion. White and colored people of prominence were willing to express themselves as individuals, even personally to write the Governor for clemency, but positively refused to be quoted or to permit their names to be used.

Virginia Christian is a sacrifice to society. From the unfortunate girl's tragedy the great commonwealth, whose name by a bitter irony of fate she bears, should read its lesson. Why has not Virginia a reformatory for colored girls? Why has it not a law forbidding the execution of children of sixteen? How many more legalized murders must be committed before civilization receives an answer to these questions and grapples with those social conditions which produce Virginia Christians in a race which obtains neither justice nor fair play in so many States of this Union?

HISTORIC DAYS IN SEPTEMBER

2. James Forten, abolitionist and friend of William Lloyd Garrison, born, 1766.
3. Frederick Douglass escaped from slavery, 1838.
4. William E. Dodge, friend of Negro education, born, 1805.
7. Fort Wagner evacuated by Confederates, 1863.
9. Compromise of 1850 became a law.
10. Convention in Alabama to abolish slavery, 1865.
11. Henry G. Bowen, founder of *The Independent*, born, 1813.
12. Samuel J. May, abolitionist, born, 1797.
15. Texas passed decree against slave trade, 1827.
17. Dred Scott died, 1858.
18. Second fugitive slave act passed, 1850.
19. Bishop Gilbert Haven, humanitarian, born, 1821.
21. General Andrew Jackson issued proclamation to colored men of Louisiana, 1814.
22. Abraham Lincoln issued notice of intention to proclaim emancipation, January 1, 1863, unless rebellion ceased before that date, 1862.
23. Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment mustered out, 1865.
27. First Louisiana Native Guards mustered in, 1862.
28. David Walker born, 1785. His "Appeal" against slavery issued, 1829.
29. Battle of New Market Heights, 1864.

L. M. HERSHAW.

¶ A colored man of Sumter, S. C., borrowed $5 from a loan agent and gave in return an $8 mortgage on a cow. He then paid in all $7.35, but the loan agent demanded $5.15 in addition with interest, and finally seized the cow under the mortgage. The case was brought to court and false entries in the books of the agent were proven. Finally a verdict was brought in for the colored man, who was given possession of the cow and damages amounting to $15.

A Woman's Suffrage Symposium

GARRISON AND WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE

By FANNY GARRISON VILLARD

THE invitation given me to contribute an article to the Woman Suffrage Number of THE CRISIS, and in it refer to the part that my father, William Lloyd Garrison played in the movement, brings to mind the fact that there are many people who are ignorant of the close relation that existed between the anti-slavery agitation and the one for "woman's rights," in both of which my father bore his share of the burdens. The very first lesson that I learned was one of sympathy for the poor little slave child who was torn away from its mother's arms, and the second was the need of the help of women in the struggle to free the cruelly oppressed colored people from bondage.

At that time custom did not permit women to address audiences of both men and women; the only exception being that of the Society of Friends. Thus, when two women who had an intimate knowledge of the horrors of slavery desired to speak in churches, in order to reach a larger number of people and win adherents to the abolition cause, they were sternly rebuked for their temerity. These women were Sarah and Angelina Grimké, daughters of a distinguished judge of Charleston, S. C., both remarkably gifted speakers and able writers on this all-absorbing topic. Thereupon, the General Association of Massachusetts, having the Orthodox Congregational Churches under its care, issued in July, 1837, a pastoral letter. Its aim was to close the doors of churches to anti-slavery lecturers, and to diminish the audiences of the Grimké sisters, who during the month of June had aroused intense interest in Eastern Massachusetts by their eloquent appeals on behalf of the slaves. Attention was called to dangers now seeming "to threaten the female character with widespread and permanent injury." The New Testament clearly defines "the appropriate duties and influences of women." "The power of woman is in her dependence. * * * When she assumes the place and tone of man as a public reformer our care and protection of her seem unnecessary; we put ourselves in self-defense against her; she yields the power which God has given for her protection and her character becomes unnatural." The conduct of those, the letter continued, is sadly mistaken "who encourage females to bear an obstrusive and ostentatious part in measures of reform, and coun-

tenance any of that sex who so far forget themselves as to itinerate in the character of public lecturers and preachers."

The Grimké sisters then asked for permission to speak on the anti-slavery platform and were warmly welcomed by my father, who said that he owed a greater duty to women who were half the human race than he did to the slaves who were, happily, only a small part of it, and that he must be true to both. Some of the few adherents he had won left him, saying that he could free the slaves alone if he intended to allow women to speak at anti-slavery meetings.

Miss Catherine Beecher's newly published "Essay on Slavery and Abolitionism, with Reference to the Duty of American Females," addressed to Miss A. E. Grimké, was really the beginning of the woman's rights agitation in America. Sarah Grimké said in a letter to H. C. Wright: "The Lord * * * has very unexpectedly made us the means of bringing up the discussion of the question of woman's preaching and all we have to do is to do our duty." Angelina Grimké's forceful reply to Miss Beecher was published in thirteen articles in the *Liberator*. My father said: "Are we enough to make a revolution? No, but we are enough to begin one, and once begun it never can be turned back." This seems peculiarly applicable in the case of these devoted sisters.

MRS. FANNY GARRISON VILLARD

He had an opportunity presented to him in London in 1840 to serve the woman's rights cause which he did not fail to embrace. He had journeyed there for the express purpose of attending a world's anti-slavery convention, which met on Friday, June 12, with about 500 delegates. His ship had been delayed by fog and adverse gales, and he arrived five days too late. The convention had but three days more to sit, and having learned that his women codelegates sent by the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania Anti-slavery Societies were denied admission to it because of their sex, my father took his seat with them in the gallery and refused to take part in the proceedings in order to do so.

He was in the company of such women as Harriet Martineau, Mrs. Wendell Phillips, Mrs. Maria Weston Chapman, Mrs. Lydia Maria Child, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Miss Abby Kelley, afterward Mrs. Stephen Foster, Miss Emily Winslow, Miss Abby Southwick, Mrs. Lucretia Mott, and still others; certainly with his peers. This act, says N. P. Rogers, was decisive in its effect, "Haman never looked more blank on seeing Mordecai sitting in the king's gate with his hat on than did this 'committee in conference' on seeing us take the position we did. Garrison was besought to come down. They tried every means in their power to seduce him down. Every time he was mentioned that whole c o n f e r e n c e would applaud as if they t h o u g h t they could clap him down. * * * But they might as well have expected to remove the pillars upon which the gallery stood." It was, indeed, a s i n g u l a r w o r l d ' s convention from which the leader of the greatest anti-slavery movement of the age had to abstain from taking part in order to vindicate the principle of human equality. By so doing he called attention in a remarkable way to the disabilities under which women labored even when devoting themselves to so noble a cause as that of the aboltion of slavery—and the convention marks an important era in the woman question rather than that of abolition.

It will ever be instructive and interesting to dwell upon the steady progress of the woman's cause, in spite of deep-seated prejudice, ridicule and ostracism. Democracy itself is but a name where women have no

part in it. Can it be that it is expedient to shut out from its benefits any part of the human race? Most assuredly not. Negro women need the franchise, all foreign women need it, and no one of us can afford to be deprived of it any more than men. What more forcibly points the moral of the imperative necessity of the franchise for each and every human being than the heartbreaking conditions existing to-day in the South among the oppressed colored people? Largely deprived, as they are, of the franchise in the South, who cares for their rights? In truth, they can only be safeguarded when the ballot is theirs; without it they are helpless.

In conclusion, let me again quote my father's words: "The people may err—they often do; they may be badly deceived—they often are; but the people as such are never wilfully deceived, nor are they hostile to their own interests. They may be deceived, but they will by and by understand the deceptions and deal with the deceivers; but you cannot possibly have a broader basis for any government than that which includes all the people, with all their rights in their hands, and with an equal power to maintain their rights."

COLORED WOMEN AS VOTERS

By ADELLA HUNT LOGAN

MORE and more colored women are studying public questions and civics. As they gain information and have experience in their daily vocations and in their efforts for human betterment they are convinced, as many other women have long ago been convinced, that their efforts would be more telling if women had the vote.

The fashion of saying "I do not care to meddle with politics" is disappearing among the colored woman faster than most people think, for this same woman has learned that politics meddle constantly with her and hers.

MISS IDA R. CUMMINGS
(See page 223.)

Good women try always to do good housekeeping. Building inspectors, sanitary inspectors and food inspectors owe their positions to politics. Who then is so well informed as to how these inspectors perform their duties as the women who live in inspected districts and in inspected houses, and who buy food from inspected markets?

Adequate school facilities in city, village and plantation districts greatly concern the black mother. But without a vote she has no voice in educational legislation, and no power to see that her children secure their share of public-school funds.

Negro parents admit that their own children are not all angels, but they know that the environments which they are helpless to regulate increase misdemeanor and crime. They know, too, that officers, as a rule, recognize few obligations to voteless citizens.

When colored juvenile delinquents are arraigned, few judges or juries feel bound to give them the clemency due a neglected class. When sentence is pronounced on these mischievous youngsters, too often they are imprisoned with adult criminals and come out hardened and not helped by their punishment. When colored mothers ask for a reform school for a long time they receive no answer. They must wait while they besiege their legislature. Having no vote they need not be feared or heeded. The

"right of petition" is good; but it is much better when well voted in.

Not only is the colored woman awake to reforms that may be hastened by good legislation and wise administration, but where she has the ballot she is reported as using it for the uplift of society and for the advancement of the State.

In California the colored woman bore her part creditably in the campaign for equal suffrage and also with commendable patriotism in the recent presidential nomination campaign.

The State of Washington, new with its votes-for-women law, has already had a colored woman juror. Why not? She is educated and wealthy and wants to protect the best interests in her State.

Colorado has never had better school officials than her women have made. Judge Ben. Lindsey is as popular with colored women voters as he is with white women voters. The juvenile court over which he presides gives the boy a square deal regardless of color. A majority of mothers and fathers can be counted on every time to support such an official.

Wyoming, Utah and Idaho, the other full suffrage States, have few colored women, but these few are not hurt by, but are being helped by, their voting privileges.

In the States that are now conducting woman suffrage campaigns the colored woman is as interested and probably as active as conditions warrant. This is notably true of Ohio and Kansas.

A number of colored women are active members of the National Woman Suffrage Association. They are well informed and are diligent in the spread of propaganda. Women who see that they need the vote see also that the vote needs them. Colored women feel keenly that they may help in civic betterment, and that their broadened interests in matters of good government may arouse the colored brother, who for various reasons has become too indifferent to his duties of citizenship.

The suffrage map shows that six States have equal political rights for women and men, and that a much larger number have granted partial suffrage to women. In all these the colored woman is taking part, not as fully as she will when the question is less of an experiment, not as heartily as she will when her horizon broadens, but she bears her part.

This much, however, is true now: the colored American believes in equal justice to all, regardless of race, color, creed or sex, and longs for the day when the United States shall indeed have a government of the people, for the people and by the people—even including the colored people.

The JUSTICE OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

By MARY CHURCH TERRELL

IT is difficult to believe that any individual in the United States with one drop of African blood in his veins can oppose woman suffrage. It is queer and curious enough to hear an intelligent colored woman argue against granting suffrage to her sex, but for an intelligent colored man to oppose woman suffrage is the most preposterous and ridiculous thing in the world. What could be more absurd than to see one group of human beings who are denied rights which they are trying to secure for themselves working to prevent another group from obtaining the same rights? For the very arguments which are advanced against granting the right of suffrage to women are offered by those who have disfranchised colored men.

If I were a colored man, and were unfortunate enough not to grasp the absurdity of opposing suffrage because of the sex of a human being, I should at least be consistent enough never to raise my voice against those who have disfranchised my brothers and myself on account of race. However, the intelligent colored man who opposes woman suffrage is very rare, indeed. While on a lecture tour recently I frequently discussed woman suffrage with the leading citizens in the communities in which I spoke. It was very gratifying, indeed, to see that in the majority of instances these men stood right on the question of woman suffrage.

Frederick Douglass did many things of which I am proud, but there is nothing he ever did in his long and brilliant career in which I take keener pleasure and greater pride than I do in his ardent advocacy of

equal political rights for women, and the effective service he rendered the cause of woman suffrage sixty years ago. When the resolution demanding equal political rights for women was introduced in the meeting held at Seneca Falls, N. Y., in 1848, Frederick Douglass was the only man in the convention courageous and broad minded enough to second the motion. It was largely due to Douglass's masterful arguments and matchless eloquence that the motion was carried, in spite of the opposition of its very distinguished and powerful foes. In his autobiography Douglass says: "Observ-

MISS ELIZABETH L. DAVIS

(See page 223.)

ing woman's agency, devotion and efficiency, gratitude for this high service early moved me to give favorable attention to the subject of what is called 'woman's rights' and caused me to be denominated a woman's rights man. I am glad to say," he adds, "that I have never been ashamed to be thus designated. I have been convinced of the wisdom of woman suffrage and I have never denied the faith."

To assign reasons in this day and time to prove that it is unjust to withhold from one-half of the human race rights and privileges freely accorded the other half, which is neither more deserving nor more capable of exercising them, seems almost like a reflection upon the intelligence of those to whom they are presented. To argue the inalienability and the equality of human rights in the twentieth century in a country whose government was founded upon the eternal principles that all men are created free and equal, that governments get their just powers from the consent of the governed, seems like laying one's self open to the charge of anachronism. For 2,000 years mankind has been breaking down the various barriers which interposed themselves between human beings and their perfect freedom to exercise all the faculties with which they have been divinely endowed. Even in monarchies old fetters, which formerly restricted freedom, dwarfed the intellect and doomed certain individuals to narrow, circumscribed spheres because of the mere accident of birth, are being loosed and broken one by one.

What a reproach it is to a government which owes its very existence to the loved freedom in the human heart that it should deprive any of its citizens of their sacred and cherished rights. The founders of this republic called heaven and earth to witness that it should be called a government of the people, for the people and by the people; and yet the elective franchise is withheld from one-half of its citizens, many of whom are intelligent, virtuous and cultured, and unstintingly bestowed upon the other half, many of whom are illiterate, degraded and vicious, because by an unparalleled exhibition of lexicographical acrobatics the word "people" has been turned and twisted to mean all who were shrewd and wise enough to have themselves born boys instead of girls, and white instead of black.

But why grant women the suffrage when the majority do not want it, the remonstrants sometimes ask with innocent engaging seriousness. Simply because there are many people, men as well as women, who are so constructed as to be unable to ascertain by any process of reason what is the best thing for them to have or to do. Until the path is blazed by the pioneer, even some people who have superior intellects and moral courage dare not forge ahead. On the same principle and for just exactly the same reason that American women would reject

suffrage, Chinese women, if they dared to express any opinion at all, would object to having the feet of their baby girls removed from the bandages which stunt their growth. East Indian women would scorn the proferred freedom of their American sisters as unnatural and vulgar and would die rather than have their harems abolished. Slaves sometimes prefer to bear the ills of bondage rather than accept the blessings of freedom, because their poor beclouded brains have been stunted and dwarfed by oppression so long that they cannot comprehend what liberty means and have no desire to enjoy it.

TWO SUFFRAGE MOVEMENTS

By MARTHA GRUENING

THE woman suffrage movement in England and America really dates from the beginning of the anti-slavery struggle. It was not only contemporaneous with it, but it owes its existence in a large measure to this phase of the struggle for human rights. For it was in the abolitionist ranks that the early suffragists received their training, both as thinkers and propagandists. It was impossible for them to agitate continually for the freedom of the Negro without desiring freedom for themselves, or realizing the parallel between his situation and their own. For if the Negro was a slave the married woman of that day was no less a chattel. She was no longer openly bought and sold,* but she had no more than he, a separate legal existence. If the Negro slave belonged to his master, she belonged no less, absolutely, to her husband as did her property, her earnings, and even her children. Both were disfranchised. Both were deprived of education and subject to economic disabilities which they shared with no other class. Even the constitutional right of free speech was not extended to woman when it meant public speech, as she found when she wished to join in the protest against slavery; and even among the abolitionists her presence on platforms and committees caused serious dissensions.

The most striking instance of this was offered at the World's Anti-slavery Convention held in London in 1840, when the credentials of the American women delegates were refused for no other reason than that they were women. They were, indeed, allowed to be present, but not to have any part in the proceedings. With this they had to be content, as their fellow delegates apparently were, the only exceptions being William Lloyd Garrison and Nathaniel Rogers, the editor of the *Herald of Freedom*. Of all the men present these two alone seemed to realize that a principle was at stake, and rather than compromise on a point they felt to be vital they resigned their seats in the convention, remaining merely as spectators in the gallery.

This was one of many bitter experiences that taught women the lesson of their own impotence. To many of those rejected delegates, among them Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, it brought an overwhelming realization that they were still something less than human in the minds of most men and a conviction that their first duty was to free themselves from the artificial restraints imposed on them because of their sex; that then and then only they could work with men as equals. In these two women, at least, the action of the convention kindled a profound resolve to work toward this end, resulting in an agitation which culminated in the women's rights convention of 1848 and its now famous "declaration of rights." This convention held at Seneca Falls, N. Y., and attended by about 100 men and women, was denounced by the press of that date as "the most unnatural and shocking incident in the history of humanity," while the declaration excited almost universal derision. This document stated the belief of its framers in the equality of men and women and demanded for women education, the liberty of entering all trades and professions, the right to appear in public, the right to "work with men in any good cause," reminiscent of the anti-slavery convention, and, finally, the ballot.

It is significant that of all the resolutions offered at this convention this one alone was not unanimously adopted. It was finally carried by a small majority, but throughout the discussion only two of those present, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Frederick Douglass, warmly favored it. They alone at this stage seem to have grasped the fact

*The sale of wives was a legal transaction in England well into the nineteenth century.

that all rights and privileges go back to this most fundamental right. Throughout the storm of ridicule and abuse which broke out after the convention Douglass maintained his position and brilliantly defended the convention in his paper, *The North Star*.

The early history of the suffrage movement abounds with like incidents showing the help given to the cause by colored people. Perhaps none is more striking than the story of Sojourner Truth at the Akron convention, quoted from the "Reminiscences of Mrs. Frances D. Gage":

"The second day the work waxed warm. Methodist, Baptist, Episcopal, Presbyterian

SOJOURNER TRUTH

and Universalist ministers came in to hear and discuss the resolutions presented. One claimed superior rights and privileges for man, on the ground of 'superior intellect;' another because of the 'manhood of Christ;' another gave us a theological view of the 'sin of our first mother.' Through all these sessions Sojourner Truth, quiet and reticent, sat crouched against the wall, on the corner of the pulpit stairs, her elbows on her knees, her chin resting on her broad, hard palms. Again and again, timorous and trembling ones came to me and said with earnestness: 'Don't let her speak, Mrs. Gage, it will ruin us.' * * *

"There were very few in those days who dared 'speak in meeting,' and the august teachers of the people were seemingly getting the better of us, while the boys in the gallery and the sneerers in the pews were hugely enjoying the discomfiture as they supposed of the 'strong minded.' Some of the tender-skinned friends were on the point of losing dignity and the atmosphere betokened a storm, when slowly from her seat in the corner rose Sojourner Truth. 'Don't let her speak,' gasped half a dozen in my ear. She moved slowly and solemnly to the front and turned her great speaking eyes to me. There was a hissing sound of disapprobation, both above and below, as I announced 'Sojourner Truth' and begged the audience to keep silence for a few minutes. At her first words there was a profound hush. She spoke in deep tones, not loud, but which reached every ear in the house, and away through the throng at the doors and windows.

"'Wall, chilern, whar dar is so much racket dar must be somethin' out o' kilter. I reckon dat 'twixt de Niggers in de Souf and de women in de Norf, de white men will be in a fix pretty soon. But what's all dis here talkin' about?

"'Dat man ober dar say dat women needs to be helped into carriages, and lifted ober ditches, and to hab de best place everywhar. Nobody eber helps me into carriages or ober mud puddles, or gibs me de best place! And ain't I a woman? Look at me! Look at my arm' (and she bared her tremendous arm showing her great muscular power). 'I have ploughed, I have planted and gathered into barns and noone could head me—and ain't I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man—when I could get it—and bear de lash as well, and ain't I a woman? I have borne thirteen chilern and seen most of dem sold off into slavery, and when I cried out in my mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me; and ain't I a woman?

"'Den dey talks 'bout dis ting in de head. What dey call it?' ('Intellect,' someone whispered.) 'Dat's it, honey. What's dat got to do with Nigger's rights or women's rights? If my cup won't hold but a pint and yours holds a quart, wouldn't you be mean not to let me have my little half measure full?' (And she sent a keen glance at the minister who made the argument. The cheering was long and loud.)

"'Den dat man ober dar, he say women can't have as much right as men 'cause Christ wan't a woman! Whar did your Christ come from?' (Rolling thunder couldn't have stilled the crowd as did those deep wonderful tones as she stood with outstretched arms and eyes of fire.) 'Whar did your Christ come from? From God and a woman. Man had nothin' to do with him!' What a rebuke that was to the little man!

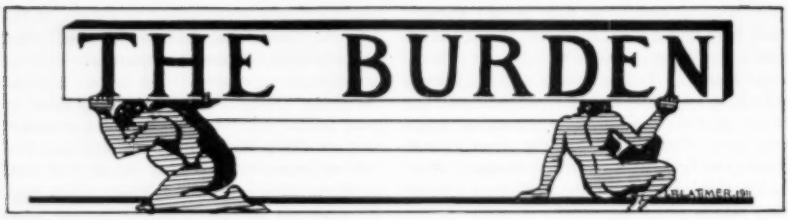
"Lastly she took up the defense of Mother Eve, eliciting almost deafening applause at every word, and finally returned to her corner, leaving many of us with streaming eyes and hearts beating with gratitude. She had taken us up in her strong arms and carried us safely over the slough of difficulty, turning the whole tide in our favor. I have never seen anything like the magical influence which turned the sneers and jeers of an excited crowd into notes of respect and admiration."

If such incidents have been less frequent in recent years it is not because the profound and close connection between the Negro and women movements no longer exists. The parallel between their respective situations is as clear to-day as it was in 1848, but it is too frequently ignored by the reformers on both sides. Both have made some progress toward complete emancipation, the gains of women in the direction of enfranchisement being seemingly the more lasting. Both, however, are still very largely disfranchised, and subject to those peculiar educational, legal and economic discriminations that are the natural results of disfranchisement. And finally, both are being brought with every onward step nearer to the identical temptation —to sacrifice the principle of true democracy to the winning of a single skirmish. So when one sees a national body of suffragists refusing to pass a universal suffrage resolution, one is compelled to wonder at the logic of those who, knowing so well what disfranchisement means, would allow it to be inflicted on others. "Let us not confuse the issue," these suffragists plead, some in good faith. Yet the confusion, if any, exists only in their minds. Here are not two distinct issues at stake, but merely the vital principle of democracy. Others insist that the granting of the ballot to women must precede all other reforms because "women have waited long enough" and recall the fact that women were forced to stand aside and see Negro men enfranchised at the close of the Civil War. This is undoubtedly true and was quite justly a source of bitter disappointment to the suffrage leaders of that day—a disappointment we should not underestimate—but merely to reverse the principals in an unjust occurrence is not to work justice. It is strange to see so many suffragists who point with pride to the action of Garrison in withdrawing from the anti-slavery convention, blind to the larger significance of that action. Stranger still to see them following, not Garrison's lead, but that of the convention in their attitude toward colored people, and forgetting that no cause is great to the exclusion of every other. This Robert Purvis, a noted colored leader, understood, as is shown by his noble reply to the suffragists' appeal: "I cannot agree that this or any hour is specially the Negro's. I am an anti-slavery man. With what grace could I ask the women of this country to labor for my enfranchisement and at the same time be unwilling to put forth a hand to remove the tyranny in some respects greater to which they are exposed?" This is what all suffragists must understand, whatever their sex or color—that all the disfranchised of the earth have a common cause.

BROTHER BAPTIS' ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE

By ROSALIE JONAS

When hit come ter de question er de female vote,
De ladies an' de cullud folks is in de same boat.
Ef de Boss feelin' good, an' we eats out his han',
We kin shout fur freedom, an' foller de ban'.
We kin play at freedom, so long's we play.
But ef we gits thinkin', an' comes out an' say:
Case one's borned a female, an' one's borned black,
Is dat any reason fur sottin' way back?
Is dat any reason fur sottin' da-put?
You kin betcher bottom dollar dat de Boss's fut
Gwine ter sprout big claws, till dey comes clar thoo,
An' he climps hit heavy on bofe us two.
Case de tears er de mudder, nur de sign er de cross,
Ain't shame all de debbil yit, outen de Boss!



COLORED MEN AND WOMEN LYNCHED WITHOUT TRIAL.

1885	78	1899	84
1886	71	1900	107
1887	80	1901	107
1888	95	1902	86
1889	95	1903	86
1890	90	1904	83
1891	121	1905	61
1892	155	1906	64
1893	154	1907	60
1894	134	1908	93
1895	112	1909	73
1896	80	1910	65
1897	122	1911	63
1898	102		
Total			2,521

AUTO-DA-FE IN TYLER, TEXAS.

THERE was some disappointment in the crowd and criticism of those who had bossed the arrangements because the fire was so slow in reaching the Negro. It was really only ten minutes after the fire was started before smoking shoe soles and a twitching of the Negro's feet indicated that his lower extremities were burning, but the time seemed much longer. The spectators had waited so long to see him tortured that they begrudged the ten minutes additional before his suffering really began.

The Negro had uttered but few words. When he was led to where he was to be burned he said quite calmly: "I wish some of you gentlemen would be Christian enough to cut my throat," but nobody responded. When the fire was started he screamed: "Lord, have mercy on my soul," and that was the last he spoke, though he was conscious for fully twenty minutes after that. His exhibition of nerve aroused the admiration even of his torturers.

A slight hitch in the proceedings occurred when the Negro was about half burned. His clothing had all been stripped off and burned to ashes by the flames, and his black body hung nude in the gray dawn light. The flesh had been burned from his legs as high as the knees when it was seen that the wood supply was running short.

There was a call for volunteers to go after more wood, but there were no responses. None of the men or boys were willing to miss an incident of the torture. All feared something of more than usual interest might happen, and it would be embarrassing to admit later on not having seen it on account of being absent after more wood.

Something had to be done, however, and a few men from the edge of the crowd ran after more dry-goods boxes, and by reason of this "public service" gained standing room in the inner circle after having delivered the fuel. Meanwhile, the crowd jeered the dying man and uttered shocking comments suggestive of a cannibalistic spirit. Some danced and sang to testify to their enjoyment of the occasion.

[*Special correspondence of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.*]

THE SCAPEGOAT.

Mobile, Ala., June 19.—Tom Jackson, a Negro, seventy years old, who shot and killed Deputy-Sheriff Coate, of Clarke County, was taken by masked men from Clarke County officers, near Jackson, Wednesday morning, and has not been heard from since.

Jackson was charged with the theft of a goat. To arrest the Negro, Deputy Coate went to Jackson's house, five miles from the town of Jackson, Tuesday night. As Coate was forcing the door the Negro fired and killed him.

Although mortally wounded, Coate shot and seriously injured Jackson. The Negro was also struck by another officer's bullet, but he crawled from his house into the garden, and there lay all night. Officers found him Wednesday morning, but did not get to the town of Jackson with him.

Conducted by JESSIE FAUSET

Wendell Phillips. The faith of an American. By George Edward Woodberry. Printed for the Woodberry Society, 1912.

The tribute which Mr. Woodberry pays in this speech to Wendell Phillips is as beautiful as it is sincere. But for us the chief interest must lie in the expression of the author's ideas on the old familiar "problem." Here is a man who thinks and, thinking, speaks. "I say nothing," he declares, "of the denial of Negro rights by lynching. That is a mere brutality. We are shamed in the face of civilized nations as no other of the group, except Russia, has been shamed for centuries. * * * I note, too, the extension of lynching to white men and the spread of the habit of burning Negroes to Northern States. You cannot calmly watch a fire in your neighbor's house; it will leap to your own roof. You cannot wink at crime in your neighbor's dooryard; it will soon be in your own. The denial of Negro rights by the nullification of the constitutional amendments is a graver matter. I have only this to say, that no student of history can be surprised at a diminishing respect for a Constitution that does not maintain itself as the supreme law of the land honestly abided by. Phillips stated the true principle: 'The proper time to maintain one's rights is when they are denied; the proper persons to maintain them are those to whom they are denied.' I devoutly hope that the Negroes will so grow in manhood as to be their own saviours in the fulness of time, as our own fathers long ago wrenched from the hands of unwilling masters the rights that are now our dearest possession." One has to think here of Mr. Phillips' own remark: "Peace, if possible; but justice at any rate."

Again listen to Mr. Woodberry: "It may be that the Negroes, considered with a view to their social utility, like all other masses of men, are capable only of an economic service. That is the main task of mankind. But beware of closing the gates of mercy on those young ambitions, those forward instincts, the prayers and struggles of the waking soul of a race! Give the Negroes a true university—a white man's university. The trials and discouragements of genius are an old and sad story in our own annals. Think what the burden must be that rests on Negro efforts."

The Negro at Work in New York City. A study in economic progress. George Edmund Haynes. Columbia University Publications, 1912. Longmans, Green & Co., agents.

This work affords us an exhaustive and interesting account of the manner in which colored citizens earn their living in New York. Incidentally one learns a great deal also of their sanitation and morality. There are many references and diagrams and a summary. In this summary is to be found the creed of the whole "Negro Problem." The passage reads as follows:

"The problem of the Negro as an urban dweller is made more acute because he has greater handicap due to his previous condition of servitude and to the prejudiced opposition of the white world that surrounds him. His health, intelligence and morals respond to treatment similar to that of other denizens of the city, if only impartial treatment can be secured. Doubtless, death rate and crime rate have been and are greater than the corresponding rates for the white populations of the same localities, for both crime and disease are a reflection of the urban environments and are solvable by methods similar to those used to remedy such conditions among whites if prejudiced presuppositions, which conclude without experiment or inquiries that Negroes have innately bad tendencies, give place to open-minded trial and unbiased reason. Snapshot

opinions should be avoided in such serious questions, and statesmen, philanthropists and race leaders should study the facts carefully and act accordingly."

The Black Pawn. By Norman Duncan. *Harper's* for July, 1912.

Once in a rare while some one points out that the wrong done the black man by slavery was not only physical and material, but something much more subtle and far reaching. It is this which Mr. Duncan with far more insight than is usually accorded the Negro points out when he writes:

"Billy Brown had been bullied for a long time. He yielded to the ancient compulsion. It was the same as it had always been. His spirit had been broken before he was born."

"His spirit had been broken"—there it is—the spiritual hurt, the maiming of the essential quality of manliness—the accursed heritage which the American Negro must fling behind him.

LETTER BOX

Editor of THE CRISIS:

Your journal supplies a long-felt want. You must continue to publish the truth of the brutal American condition, and the more of the horrors you describe the greater usefulness you will accomplish. Your paper each month can never become as bitter as are the daily humiliations of millions of your oppressed, suffering race. The pictures of lynchings which you put on your pages are inadequate to tell the fiendish stories of barbarities which our own eyes have seen in the Southland. About ten years ago in a Southern State we saw the officers arrest seven black boys, in ages from 14 to 22 years, and put them in an old storehouse to await a hearing the next day. The magistrate said they would be committed to jail the following day if they were living. That night six of them were strung to a lone oak, their bodies mutilated and the clothing on their bodies saturated with oil and burned. They were buried under the oak in one large hole. No one was ever arrested for the crime.

Your list of the lynched is not as big as it might be. We believe you have not half the number. A SUBSCRIBER,
New York.

DEAR SIR:

I feel more or less at liberty to make a comment regarding THE CRISIS, since for many years I have been deeply interested, and have done many things for the advancement of the Negro race in America.

For several months I have been a subscriber to your magazine, have looked it over carefully each issue, and put it into the hands of my maid as an interesting thing, perhaps, for her to read in a leisure hour. And I have watched its effect, which has not been a good one.

Now I want to say this, and from the bottom of my heart; you are making a grave mistake in pointing out the woes of the Negro race which are no greater—if as great—as the woes of the white man. Besides, to point them out is not the way to remedy the evil that exists, if evil there does exist. * * *

A SOUTHERN WHITE WOMAN.

More of THE CRISIS are sold to Hindoos, Japanese and whites than to colored people.

DORA GULLIFORD,
Vancouver, B. C.

I read THE CRISIS from cover to cover and eagerly look for it each month.

WILLIAM STEVENSON,
Cincinnati, O.

Everywhere I have been I hear the highest praise for THE CRISIS. Everyone feels that at last we have the kind of race paper which has long been needed.

E. AZALIA HACKLEY,
Jacksonville, Fla.

This month's edition of THE CRISIS is a "gem." I read with inspiration and profit every word of it last night. God bless you in this work. J. W. BARCO,
Richmond, Va.

Publishers' Chat

THE CHILDREN'S NUMBER

Little Girl looked up from her stewed beans:

"Will it have a children's story?" she asked.

The Editor looked down at her.

"Really, I hadn't planned——"

"But who ever *heard* of a Children's Number without a story for children?" persisted Little Girl.

"Why—to be sure," surrendered the Editor.

So the Children's Number in October will have a children's story to go with the baby faces.

By the way, we have some of the 'cutest baby faces you ever saw.

Is your baby's face there?

If not, rush the picture to us. We want it. Besides there's a prize, you know.

COMING NUMBERS—The November number is our second anniversary. Then will come the finest number of the year for Christmas—together with a Richard Brown cover.

SCHOOL TALK—In a few weeks schools all over the country will begin to open. It is often quite a problem for parents to decide which school to select for their children.

The curriculum, location and advantages of one school may be suited to the disposition and previous training of one child while the same school would not be suitable for another.

The schools advertised in THE CRISIS are all reliable, and while the range of choice is limited the quality is decidedly superior to any similar collection.

If you are perplexed with a last-minute decision between two schools for your children or yourself, perhaps we can help you out of your difficulty if you write us.

Our suggestions are FREE.

SCHOOL OF BEAUTY CULTURE AND HAIR DRESSING

KELSEY'S

328 Lenox Avenue
Telephone Harlem 1896
126th Street, NEW YORK.

Manicuring, Shampooing, Hair Dressing, Marcel Waving, Facial and Body Massage, Hair Making, Chiropody, etc., scientifically taught. Unlimited practice in parlor day and night. Pupils taught at home, if desired. Diplomas. Special Summer Course, $7.50 up. Send for booklet. Mme. A. Carter Kelsey, Gen'l Intr.; Dr. Samuel A. Kelsey, Chiropodist, President and Gen'l Manager.

GOOD COMMISSION PAID TO ORGANIZERS. JOIN NOW!

HOME OFFICE:
110½ Colfax Ave., South Bend, Ind.

Too, Too! Too, Too! Too, Too

SOMETHING NEW

The Afro-American Order of Orioles

With a Graduated Scale of Endowment

For particulars write G. W. BLAND, H. S. P.

Good Talcum Powder

is a hot weather necessity. Your choice of odors:

French Bouquet
Corylopsis
Carnation
Violet
Lilac
Pink Blossom
(Flesh Color)

Mailed postpaid for 15c. per box. Agents wanted.

ALEXANDER SPECIALTY CO.
494 Highland Ave.
Passaic, N. J.

Telephone 3253 Harlem

CARPET CLEANING

Cleaners and Renovators
For Particular People

New York Careful Cleaning Bureau

12 West 135th Street

We make a specialty of cleaning and renovating carpets, rugs, portières and upholstered furniture; we also vacuum clean in the home. We are not the largest carpet cleaner in the warld, but absolutely the most careful in every detail.

SHAMPOOING CARPETS AND RUGS OUR SPECIALTY

'Phone 2877 Lenox

White Rose Working Girls' Home

217 East 86th Street
Bet. Second and Third Avenues

Pleasant temporary lodgings for working girls, with privileges, at reasonable rates. The Home solicits orders for working dresses, aprons, etc.

Address:

MRS. FRANCES R. KEYSER, Supt.

WANTED—A copy of No. 29 (issued June 16, 1906) of the "Moon," a weekly magazine published in Memphis, Tennessee. A liberal price will be paid. Address:
THE CRISIS

Costs little, no plumbing, requires little water. Weight 15 pounds, and folds into small roll. Full length baths, far better than tin tubs. Lasts for years. Write for special agents offer and description. Rosenzweig Mfg. Co., [illegible] Adams St., Toledo, O. Mfrs. Turkish Bath Cabinets.

Another One of Those Decidedly Smart Designs from Mme. Becks

Mme. Becks, who is regarded as an authority on styles and fashions, has agreed to design exclusive patterns for THE CRISIS.

A real dressy street dress for late summer and early fall.

Can be made of chiffon, serge, taffeta or broadcloth.

Material Required:

4 yards, 40 inches wide, or 6 yards, 36 inches wide.

3 yards of lace, 4 inches wide.

½ yard of net for yoke and collar.

½ yard ball fringe.

½ dozen buttons.

Patterns are cut 36, 38 and 40 bust measure. Price, by mail, 17 cents. Patterns cut to measure, 50 cents.

Address:

Pattern Department, THE CRISIS
26 VESEY STREET NEW YORK CITY

The Meeting Place of Business and Proficiency

A professional man advertised in THE CRISIS for a partner with capital. The profession is one that offers little encouragement to colored men and yet he writes:

> "Kindly stop the advertisement in THE CRISIS, as my want has been filled. We appreciate the very good results (from THE CRISIS) and will forward check on the 15th."

A large corporation advertised in THE CRISIS for a general manager with capital. The wording of their advertisement eliminated all inquirers save those with capital and experience. They write:

> "We believe that one of the parties is really interested in our proposition and will close with him in a few days."

They "closed" with him and have since advertised for other high-grade help.

There is our story in a nutshell.

Those who require high-grade help should use our "Help Wanted" columns, and those who are trained or experienced as high-grade helpers should advertise their services where they may reach the largest number of possible employers.

HELP WANTED

RELIABLE, LIVE, RESPONSIBLE MEN

who can sell real estate can MAKE MORE than $200 PER MONTH acting as AGENTS for the sale of our properties in MUSKOGEE and TAFT, OKLAHOMA. The real coming country where there are opportunities and openings for all. Write us to-day, giving your age and experience, and we will offer you a FINE PROPOSITION WHICH WILL MAKE YOU MONEY. Address

REEVES REALTY CO.
Department C
217 Flynn-Ames Bldg. Muskogee, Okla.

AGENTS—Represent reliable house, 400 per cent. profit. Selling GORDON'S Photo Pillow Tops. High grade work. Easy sales. Big money. Samples and catalogue free.
Luther Gordon Co. 206 N. Fifth Ave., Chicago, Ill.

AGENTS—Big money. Johnson-Flynn fight and other copyrighted Negro pictures. Portraits. Pillow Tops. Catalog FREE. 30 days' credit.

PEOPLES PORTRAIT CO.
Station U, Chicago, Ill.

WANTED—Reliable men with references to handle the best Stock Investment on the market. Any good solicitor can earn from $50 to $100 per month.
Our reference: The Bank of Mound Bayou.
THE S. I. & E. CORPORATION
Mound Bayou, Miss.

MUTUAL TEACHERS' AGENCY

Recommends teachers for schools; secures employment for teachers. Blanks and information furnished free on application.
1335 T Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.

PATENTS

L. H. LATIMER
MECHANICAL AND ELECTRICAL ENGINEER
and
SOLICITOR OF PATENTS
55 John Street New York
Inventions Perfected, Models and Experimental Machines Designed and Constructed. Technical Translations.
Telephone 343 John Room 604

EVERYBODY'S GUIDE

By mail, 50 cents postpaid
12 mo.; 410 pages; paper cover.
Comprising valuable information and more than 3,000 recipes and tables, for all classes of workers, from the household to the factory. Agents wanted. Quick seller.
H. E. CLARK
309 East 119th Street New York, N. Y.

REGALIA

A RACE ENTERPRISE
Manufacturing Badges, Banners and Supplies for all Fraternal and Church Societies. Catalogue upon request.
CENTRAL REGALIA CO.
Jos. L. Jones, Pres.
N. E. Cor. 8th and Plum Streets
Cincinnati, Ohio

REAL ESTATE

Valuable Texas Lands For Sale

Large tracts of farm land in the best localities of the State for sale at very flattering prices. Small tracts of good lands suitable for farming, truck, fruits and any domestic product. We have for sale a number of large farms already in cultivation, good houses an barns, wells, and nice pasture lands, which can be obtained at reasonable rates. City property a specialty. Business lots in the best part of the city, improved and unimproved. Large lots suitable for factory property with switch facilities.

No investment can be more valuable than an investment in Texas real estate. Lands are becoming so valuable that they are doubling themselves in value in less than a year's time. For any investment in Texas property, write **T. B. Madison Real Estate Company, 2415 Elm Street, Dallas, Texas.**

To Colored People

FOR SALE—We have houses from $1,000 to $30,000. Our city is the capital of Ohio and a great manufacturing center—plenty of work, a good place to locate for business. Can sell you a house for $50, $100 to $500 down, balance like rent. For investment and speculating houses or business places, $1,000 to $5,000 down, balance on long time payment. Farm land prices from $1,000 to $10,000 up. Any of these are in good locations. Write for further information.

THIS IS A COLORED ENTERPRISE.

EDWARD A. SHANKLIN
Real Estate
1218¼ Mt. Vernon Ave. Columbus, Ohio

Canada, Province of British Columbia

WANTED—To hear from one hundred respectable colored families who desire to settle in British Columbia, where I have four hundred acres of rich black loam garden land, all cleared, that I will subdivide into five-acre blocks, build good comfortable homes of two to ten rooms, barns, sheds, etc. This property is near Vancouver, with railway, electric lines and water transportation conveniently near; located on the best salmon-fishing stream in the world; an abundance of game, wild duck, pheasant, quail, deer, etc. The section around is well populated and very rich and valuable. Maps with plans, etc., now ready. Be prepared to make your selection upon receipt of same, for the number of these blocks is limited. A very small cash payment will be required, balance to run five years. For full particulars, etc., write me at once.

ANDREW J. NAPIER
Real Estate and Insurance
736 Nelson St., Vancouver, B. C.

UNDERTAKERS

Telephone Columbus 3935 Open All Night

RODNEY DADE & BROS.
Undertakers and Embalmers
Notary Public
Funeral Parlor and Chapel Free.
Licensed Lady Embalmer Prompt Service
266 West 53d Street New York, N. Y.
Between Broadway and 8th Avenue

MOVING

Telephone 4214 Greeley

BRANIC'S EXPRESS
PACKING AND SHIPPING
ANDREW J. BRANIC
Formerly Manager Virginia Transfer Company
459 SEVENTH AVENUE New York City
Orders by mail or 'phone receive prompt attention
TRUNKS STORED 25c. PER MONTH
Official Expressman for the C. V. B. A.

INVESTMENTS

Invest Your Money in Mound Bayou

We are promoting and financing The People's Brick Company, one of the most-needed and best-paying enterprises in the town.

OUR REFERENCE: THE BANK OF MOUND BAYOU, OR ANY CITIZEN.

YOUR MONEY will earn 7 per cent. from the time it is invested, and much more in the very near future.

For complete information address

The S. I. & E. Corporation
MOUND BAYOU, MISS.

WIGINGTON & BELL
Architects
Karbach Block Omaha, Neb.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

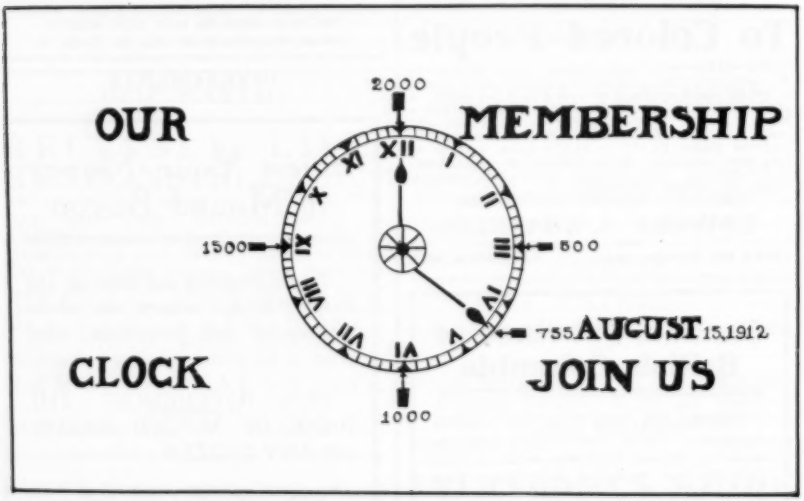
OFFICES: 26 Vesey Street, New York. Incorporated May 25, 1911

OFFICERS

National President—Mr. Moorfield Storey, Boston, Mass.
Vice-Presidents—
Rev. John Haynes Holmes, New York.
Mr. John E. Milholland, New York.
Bishop Alexander Walters, New York.
Rev. Garnet R. Waller, Baltimore, Md.
Miss Mary White Ovington, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Chairman of the Board of Directors—
Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, New York.
Treasurer—Mr. Walter E. Sachs, New York.
Director of Publicity and Research—
Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, New York.
Secretary—Miss May Childs Nerney, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Assistant Secretary—Miss Martha Gruening, New York.

This year we shall attack segregation laws, investigate lynching, defend the Negro in his civil rights, protest unceasingly against race discrimination.

We want 2,000 members January 1, 1913. Watch the clock!



MEMBERSHIP BLANK

I hereby accept membership in the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE.

Please find enclosed.....dollars and enter my name as a member in Class .....paying $..... a year, and send me THE CRISIS.

Name.....

Address.....

Class 1. Life Members, paying $500.
Class 2. Donors, paying $100 per year.
Class 3. Sustaining Members, paying $25 per year.
Class 4. Contributing Members, paying $10, $5 or $2 per year.
Class 5. Associate Members, paying $1 per year.

The subscription to THE CRISIS is $1 extra, except to members paying $5 or more, who signify their wish that $1 of their dues be considered a CRISIS subscription.

All members in good standing have the privilege of attending and voting at the Annual Conference of the Association.

PLEASE MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, 26 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

PERSONAL CARDS

Ten Years with Dr. D. C. White

Telephone 7189 Morningside

DR. JAMES A. BANKS

DENTIST

204 WEST 133d STREET, NEW YORK

Porcelain, Crown and Bridge Work a Specialty
Pure Nitrous-Oxide Gas Administered

J. DOUGLAS WETMORE

Attorney and Counselor-at-Law

5 Beekman Street (Temple Court)
New York City

Tel. 6222 Cortlandt Cable Address, Judowet

FREDERICK L. McGHEE

Attorney and Counselor-at-Law

Union Block, Fourth and Cedar Streets
St. Paul, Minn.

General Practice Notary Public

WILLIAM R. MORRIS

Attorney and Counselor-at-Law

1020 Metropolitan Life Building
Minneapolis, Minn.

Real Estate and Probate Matters a Specialty

ROBERT B. BARCUS

Attorney and Counselor-at-Law
Notary Public

Office: Room 502, Eberly Block, Columbus, O

B. S. SMITH

Attorney and Counselor-at-Law

Offices: Suite 610, Sykes Block,
Minneapolis, Minn.

GEORGE W. MITCHELL

Attorney-at-Law

908 Walnut Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Tel. 2026 Fort Hill Cable Address, Epben

EDGAR P. BENJAMIN

Attorney and Counsellor-at-Law

34 SCHOOL STREET Boston, Mass.

Telephone Connection

W. Ashbie Hawkins George W. F. McMechen

HAWKINS & McMECHEN

Attorneys-at-Law

21 East Saratoga Street Baltimore, Md.

PAMPHLETS

Published and sold by

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

1. **African Civilization:** By M. D. Maclean. Price 2 cents.

2. **The Brain of the American Negro:** By Burt G. Wilder. Price 20 cents.

3. **Social Control:** By Jane Addams, of Hull House. Price 1 cent.

4. **The Negro as a Soldier:** By Brigadier-General Burt, U. S. A. Price 5 cents.

5. **Leaving It to the South:** An experience and some conclusions by Charles Edward Russell. Price 5 cents.

6. **Views of a Southern Woman:** By Adelene Moffat. Price 2 cents.

7. **Disfranchisement:** By John Haynes Holmes. Price 5 cents.

8. **Contribution of the Negro to Human Civilization:** By Dr. A. F. Chamberlain. Price 15 cents.

9. **The Relation of the Negroes to the Whites in the South:** By W. E. B. Du Bois. Price 15 cents.

Address

The Crisis Book Department

26 VESEY STREET NEW YORK

No. 4 Special Buggy

$65.00

A value unequaled. Sold on $1.00 Profit Margin. Write for prices and other styles. Send for catalog.

C. R. Patterson & Sons

GREENFIELD, OHIO

Largest Negro carriage concern in the United States

"HALF A MAN"

The Status of the Negro in New York

By

MARY WHITE OVINGTON

With a foreword by Dr. Franz Boas of Columbia University

Chapter I. How the colored people won their civil and political rights.

Chapters II. and III. The Negro tenement and the life of the poor.

Chapters IV. and V. How the colored man earns his living, with a full description of the professions; the ministry, the stage.

Chapter VI. The colored woman, her discouragements and successes.

Chapter VII. A vivid description of the life of the well-to-do Negroes.

Chapter VIII. The Negro in politics in New York.

Chapter IX. The author's personal views on the race question.

Price $1.00; by mail, $1.12.

LONGMANS, GREEN & CO., Publishers, NEW YORK

This book is for sale in the Book Department of **The Crisis**, 26 Vesey St., N. Y.

Make Your Spare Moments Profitable

¶ The continued growth of THE CRISIS necessitates the extension of our field force, and we need representatives in all cities to establish sub-agencies and look after renewals.

¶ If you can spare a few hours each month to look after our interests in your city, we can make you a proposition that will interest you. The work is dignified as well as profitable.

ADDRESS BUSINESS MANAGER

THE CRISIS, 26 Vesey Street, NEW YORK

BEST BOOKS

For students of the Negro Problem and general readers. Your library will be incomplete without a selection from this up-to-date list.

These are books produced by the best writers and most able authorities on the problems affecting the races. By mail at following prices:

ESSAYS

RACE ADJUSTMENT.
Kelly Miller $2.15
SOULS OF BLACK FOLK.
W. E. B. Du Bois 1.35
CURSE OF RACE PREJUDICE.
Jas. F. Morton, Jr ..... .27

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY STUDIES

The Atlanta University Studies are an annual study of decennially recurring subjects, covering every phase of Negro-American life.

No. 7—THE NEGRO ARTISAN ..... $ .75
No. 8—THE NEGRO CHURCH 1.50
No. 9—NOTES ON NEGRO CRIME ..... .50
No. 10—BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE NEGRO-AMERICAN ..... .25
No. 11—HEALTH AND PHYSIQUE OF THE NEGRO-AMERICAN 1.50
No. 12—ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AMONG NEGRO-AMERICANS 1.00
No. 13—THE NEGRO - AMERICAN FAMILY ..... .75
No. 14—EFFORTS FOR SOCIAL BETTERMENT AMONG NEGRO-AMERICANS ..... .75
No. 15—THE COLLEGE-BRED NEGRO-AMERICAN ..... .75
No. 16—THE NEGRO COMMON SCHOOL ..... .75

FICTION

QUEST OF THE SILVER FLEECE.
W. E. B. Du Bois $1.50
FLOWER O' THE PEACH.
Percival Gibbon 1.45
MARROW OF TRADITION.
Chas. W. Chesnutt 1.65
HOUSE BEHIND THE CEDARS.
Chas. W. Chesnutt 1.65
THE WIFE OF HIS YOUTH.
Chas. W. Chesnutt 1.65
THE CONJURE WOMAN.
Chas. W. Chesnutt 1.40
SPORT OF THE GODS.
Paul Laurence Dunbar 1.65
THE TESTING FIRE.
Alexander Corkey 1.35
WISDOM'S CALL.
Sutton E. Griggs ..... .60

POEMS

LYRICS OF LOWLY LIFE.
Paul Laurence Dunbar $1.40
LYRICS OF THE HEARTH-SIDE.
Paul Laurence Dunbar 1.40
LYRICS OF LOVE AND LAUGHTER.
Paul Laurence Dunbar 1.40
LYRICS OF SUNSHINE AND SHADOW.
Paul Laurence Dunbar 1.40
POEMS OF PHILLIS WHEATLEY 1.10

HISTORICAL AND SCIENTIFIC

NEGRO IN THE SOUTH.
Washington and Du Bois $1.10
NEGRO IN THE NEW WORLD.
Sir Harry Johnston 6.30
MIND OF PRIMITIVE MAN.
Franz Boaz 1.65
INTER-RACIAL PROBLEMS.
Official Record, Univ. R. C. 2.55
HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE.
E. A. Johnson 1.40
NEGRO EXPLORER AT THE NORTH POLE.
Matthew A. Henson 1.10
SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.
W. E. B. Du Bois 1.65

BIOGRAPHIES, ETC.

JOHN BROWN.
W. E. B. Du Bois $1.40
FREDERICK DOUGLASS.
Booker T. Washington 1.40
LIFE OF HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.
By her son and grandson 1.65
UP FROM SLAVERY.
Booker T. Washington 1.65
AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF AN EX-COLORED MAN.
(Anonymous) 1.40

SOCIAL STUDIES

HALF-A-MAN.
M. W. Ovington $1.12
AFTERMATH OF SLAVERY.
W. A. Sinclair 1.65
SOUTHERN SOUTH.
Albert B. Hart 1.65
RACE PREJUDICE.
J. Finot 3.25
NEGRO AND THE NATION.
G. C. Merriam 1.92

F R E E

Should you at any time require special information concerning books, authors or publishers, WRITE US.

Our location gives us the opportunity to render this service to our many patrons.

This service is FREE.

SPECIAL OFFER

Add 75 cents to the regular price quoted for any of these books and we will send you THE CRISIS for one year and one CRISIS cover design, printed on plain paper, for framing. Size 8½ x 11. Address all orders to the

MAIL ORDER DEPARTMENT

THE CRISIS

26 Vesey Street New York City

This magnificent hotel, replete with every modern improvement, claims distinction for its location; direct Southern exposure. Superlative in construction, appointments, service and refined patronage. Endorsed by leading representative citizens.
Concerts daily by the Abyssinia orchestra. Garage, bathhouses, tennis, etc., on premises. Special attention given to ladies and children. Literature and information mailed upon request.

E. W. DALE, Cape May, N. J., Owner and Proprietor

PRINTING IS ART

It is not expensive machinery and high-grade paper stock alone, but it is those things plus correct type formations and artistic blending of colors with textures combined with superior workmanship.

Progressive business men appreciate the business-building qualities of stationery, catalogues and printed things produced in our shop.

Mr. Condé Nast, of *Vogue*, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, of THE CRISIS, and Prof. J. E. Spingarn are among our satisfied patrons.

Write for samples and quotations.

ROBERT N. WOOD, Printing and Engraving
202 EAST 99th STREET NEW YORK
'Phone 6667 Lenox